
9 999999 034498

VOICES OF INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

VOICES OF INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

(VOICE OF MUSLIM ISOLATIONISM AND COMMUNALISM)

Muslim League Speaks 1906—1925

VOLUME X

Part One

(Book 2)

Edited and Annotated by

J.C. JOHARI

M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

AKASHDEEP PUBLISHING HOUSE

New Delhi (India)

1993

AKASHDEEP PUBLISHING HOUSE
4374/4B, Ansari Road
Daryaganj, New Delhi-110 002

PRINTED IN INDIA

Published by Akashdeep Publishing House, New Delhi-110002
and Printed at J.R. Printers, Delhi.

Again, what but the promotion of commendable reciprocity and co-operation in exclusive religious matters can be a surer guarantee of India's future welfare the progress ? Indeed, this is the only point on which we are without the least hesitation unanimously agreed. The matter which is entirely for Muslims to decide is what practical step they are going to take to demonstrate their appreciation of this principle, to reassure their Hindu brethren. Not a soul among Musalmans would hesitate to vouchsafe the necessary assurance. In fact, they should enthusiastically respond to such a call, and do whatever they legitimately can to consummate such an object. They should, in so far as it lies in their power, refrain from acts calculated to wound the susceptibilities of their compatriots.

We are, and should be, fully cognizant of the fact that cow killing seriously annoys our fellow-countrymen. But before holding out any assurance to them, we must first see in what light our religion views this question. We must also determine the extent to which *qurbani* is enjoined upon us—irrespective, of course, of the slaughter of cows. According to Islam, *qurbani*, or sacrificial offering, is a *Sunnati-Muwakkidah* (a practice observed by the Prophet and emphatically enjoined on his followers) which Musalmans, as Musalmans, so long as they can afford it, must observe. Now, it is a matter of choice to fulfil this observance by sacrificing camel, sheep, goat or cow, which simply means that any of these animals can be fit offerings. Crores of Indian Muslims must be strangers to the slaughter of a camel for the fulfilment of this observance; but none of them can possibly be accused of the slightest religious omission. On the contrary, Musalmans of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Tripoli and Asiatic Turkey have been faithful to this observance without ever having slaughtered a cow; and I am confident no erudite Mufti can maintain that these Musalmans have failed to observe the Sunnat (practice of the Prophet) or have been guilty of any religious shortcoming. If any Musalman dares to call a religiously legitimate act illegitimate, he certainly commits a sin.

I consider it appropriate at this stage to recount some of the *ahadees* (religious traditions) according to which the sacri-

fice of animals other than the cow is entitled to preference. For instance, Ummi-Salmah (the Holy Prophet's venerable wife) says that the Prophet once observed "if any of you sees the crescent heralding the month of Zil Haj and desires to sacrifice a goat..." which obviously indicates that by tradition Arabs were in the habit of sacrificing goats. According to another, our Prophet said that of all sacrificial animals, the sheep was preferable; if we reserve sheep alone for the offering, we will be complying with this tradition. However, I would refrain from expatiating on the religious aspect of this subject as, properly speaking, it relates to the domain of the doctors of theology. If having regard to all these circumstances, Musalmans devoted their attention to this subject, of their own accord, and elected to sacrifice animals other than the cow, they would have the proud privilege of being regarded as the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the internal peace of the country, and they would in this way also be repaying the debt of gratitude, under which they have recently been laid by their Hindu compatriots. I earnestly appeal to my Muslim brothers, to consider calmly what I have said about this question, and if they arrive at the conclusion at which I have arrived, it will be up to them to show what value they attach to the great principle of unity, and what practical response they are ready to make (with particular reference to religious susceptibilities) to the forward step already taken by the Hindus in the direction of that goal. If I am asked to specify the practical steps to be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the Muslim residents of Kashi, Ayudhia, Muthra and Bindraban (the sacred places of the Hindus) should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should simultaneously be directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places.

I must confess that it is a question which belongs to the vast and heterogeneous population of 70 million Musalmans scattered all over India, and our efforts will take time to bear fruit, but this consideration should not discourage us from making an immediate beginning. I am also of opinion that unless some organized institution is entrusted with the propaganda, we must despair of any practical achievement in this respect. The

Muslim League, of all the institutions, is by far the most suited for this purpose; and I hope it will offer itself for the sacred work and perform it with the wisdom and zeal which it deserves. I also hope the Muslim League will receive adequate and willing. co-operation from the zealous members of the Khilafat Committees. In the first place, I trust that my views on this subjects will evoke no adverse criticism from any quarter; but in view of the fact that the Muslim community, like all other communities of the world, is composed of men of varied ways of thinking, I shall not mind any onslaught, for I am conscious that my humble suggestions spring from the depth of honesty and are not from any motive to please or annoy anyone.

The Khilafat, Holy Places and the Ottoman Empire

Gentlemen, I now propose to deal with a question whose importance cannot be exaggerated. Although Indian Muslims have expressed their views fairly and fully on various occasion, it is my special privilege and duty, as the President of the League, to survey the entire question of the Khilafat, the holy places and the Ottoman Empire. In order to let the responsible ministers and the people of Great Britain have the occasion to realize the real bearings and importance of this question, we must clearly state the truth regarding the relations existing between Turkey and the Musalmans of the world and the Indian Muslims.

Islam is not merely a faith, but a system which knows no colour nor race It teaches its followers the wholesome lesson of Muslim brotherhood, which secures every proselyte, hailing from England, America or Africa, that equality of treatment which is the imperishable heritage of Musalmans. The ordering of such a peerless socio-religious system creates inviolable bonds between one Muslim and another. It is not a mere collection of ritual and other religious observances, but is so deeply rooted in organic ethics that any attempt to detach it from politics would amount to laying the foundation of a system wholly unlike it. According to our faith, the Prophet of Arabia, who is an example of perfection to all, presented this system as an ideal for the world, and when Providence, in His boundless

wisdom, took him away from us at the conclusion of his spiritual mission, his worthy followers worked for the success of his teaching in a manner to which the chronicles written by friends and foes, and the vastness of the circles of the followers of Islam, bear adequate witness. I, however, do not feel the necessity of tracing the entire origin and development of the Khilafat at this stage; for the curious can find ample material in books of history. I shall content myself with affirming that to-day it is the descendants of Osman the Great (the Ottomans) who by common acceptation are invested with the responsibility of Khilafat (spiritual sovereignty), and on account of which the entire population of the Muslim world has, ever since the day Khilafat devolved on Ottoman sovereigns, owed them that spiritual allegiance which has manifested itself to-day in the acute unrest among Musalmans all the world over. The Ottoman sovereigns have for a long time been the custodians of the holy places of Islam, protecting them against non-Muslim usurpation. It is, therefore, only natural for Musalmans to wish to see the Ottoman Empire sufficiently powerful to be able to guard the holy places against the nefarious designs of covetous or adventurous aliens. Turkey has, in her career in history, been the shield of Islam, having for centuries shed Turkish blood in defence of Musaimans in various battlefields, and has, therefore, been specially endeared to Muslims of the world. These are some of the salient reasons which explain the painful anxiefy with which the Muslim world is awaiting the last word of the Peace Conference in regard to the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Muslims, who have been under British rule for more than a century, and who have on several occasions furnished undeniable proof of their practical loyalty to the British Crown, were impaled upon the horns of a most painful dilemma when war came to be declared on Turkey. They wanted to be single-minded; but while, on the one hand, they had the soundest religious scruples against going to war with or helping any one against Turkey, on the other, the adoption of a neutral position was calculated to expose them to the charge of shirking the fundamental duty they owed to their own State. Lord Hardinge, the ex-Viceroy of India, realizing the acuteness of the Indian Musalman's predicament, made the

famous announcement regarding the protection of the holy places with which we are all adequately familiar, and which went a long way to placate and reassure the Indian Muslim. We then relied on the assurance that the war between England and Turkey had nothing to do with religion, and regarded the above-stated announcement as a pledge that no attempt would be made to deprive Turkey of her custody of the holy places, and determined to help the British with men and money. Giving our first thought to the allegiance we owed to the Crown, we not merely fought against the Turks, but offered all the pecuniary assistance we possibly could for the successful prosecution of the War. Musalmans did not play so great a part in the European theatres of the War, as in the battlefields of Syria and Mesopotamia They fought shoulder to shoulder with the British and Australian soldiers in the famous Dardanelles campaign against the Sultan of Turkey, in defence of the British Crown, and took prominent part in the service which others were rendering to the Empire. In Syria especially, of all sections of Indians, Musalmans seem to have been most in evidence, a fact admitted by responsible persons. The Indian Muslims, who have ever been earnestly desirous to see the improvement of Turko-British relations, are painfully aware that in spite of their devout hopes to the contrary, the treatment of the Turks by British statesmen has almost invariably been deterimental to the former's interests.

Anglo-Turkish Relations

Casting a glance at the history of the period of Anglo-Turkish alliance we first find that the vast and fertile country of Egypt passed from the real suzerainty of the Turks into the virtual possession of England, after the Island of Cyprus had been ceded to England, in return for her securing lenient terms for Turkey in the Treaty of Steffano following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin led the Prime Minister of Italy to address the English Premier regarding Italy's designson Tripoli, when the latter replied that the right opportunity had not then arrived; for "the quarry should be pursued when lame or wounded." In 1911, long after this exchange of views, Italy invaded Tripoli and the Turks

wisdom, took him away from us at the conclusion of his spiritual mission, his worthy followers worked for the success of his teaching in a manner to which the chronicles written by friends and foes, and the vastness of the circles of the followers of Islam, bear adequate witness. I, however, do not feel the necessity of tracing the entire origin and development of the Khilafat at this stage; for the curious can find ample material in books of history. I shall content myself with affirming that to-day it is the descendants of Osman the Great (the Ottomans) who by common acceptation are invested with the responsibility of Khilafat (spiritual sovereignty), and on account of which the entire population of the Muslim world has, ever since the day Khilafat devolved on Ottoman sovereigns, owed them that spiritual allegiance which has manifested itself to-day in the acute unrest among Musalmans all the world over. The Ottoman sovereigns have for a long time been the custodians of the holy places of Islam, protecting them against non-Muslim usurpation. It is, therefore, only natural for Musalmans to wish to see the Ottoman Empire sufficiently powerful to be able to guard the holy places against the nefarious designs of covetous or adventurous aliens. Turkey has, in her career in history, been the shield of Islam, having for centuries shed Turkish blood in defence of Musalmans in various battlefields, and has, therefore, been specially endeared to Muslims of the world. These are some of the salient reasons which explain the painful anxiefy with which the Muslim world is awaiting the last word of the Peace Conference in regard to the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Muslims, who have been under British rule for more than a century, and who have on several occasions furnished undeniable proof of their practical loyalty to the British Crown, were impaled upon the horns of a most painful dilemma when war came to be declared on Turkey. They wanted to be single-minded; but while, on the one hand, they had the soundest religious scruples against going to war with or helping any one against Turkey, on the other, the adoption of a neutral position was calculated to expose them to the charge of shirking the fundamental duty they owed to their own State. Lord Hardinge, the ex-Viceroy of India, realizing the acuteness of the Indian Musalman's predicament, made the

famous announcement regarding the protection of the holy places with which we are all adequately familiar, and which went a long way to placate and reassure the Indian Muslim. We then relied on the assurance that the war between England and Turkey had nothing to do with religion, and regarded the above-stated announcement as a pledge that no attempt would be made to deprive Turkey of her custody of the holy places, and determined to help the British with men and money. Giving our first thought to the allegiance we owed to the Crown, we not merely fought against the Turks, but offered all the pecuniary assistance we possibly could for the successful prosecution of the War. Musalmans did not play so great a part in the European theatres of the War, as in the battlefields of Syria and Mesopotamia They fought shoulder to shoulder with the British and Australian soldiers in the famous Dardanelles campaign against the Sultan of Turkey, in defence of the British Crown, and took prominent part in the service which others were rendering to the Empire. In Syria especially, of all sections of Indians, Musalmans seem to have been most in evidence, a fact admitted by responsible persons. The Indian Muslims, who have ever been earnestly desirous to see the improvement of Turko-British relations, are painfully aware that in spite of their devout hopes to the contrary, the treatment of the Turks by British statesmen has almost invariably been deterimental to the former's interests.

Anglo-Turkish Relations

Casting a glance at the history of the period of Anglo-Turkish alliance we first find that the vast and fertile country of Egypt passed from the real suzerainty of the Turks into the virtual possession of England, after the Island of Cyprus had been ceded to England, in return for her securing lenient terms for Turkey in the Treaty of Steffano following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin led the Prime Minister of Italy to address the English Premier regarding Italy's designson Tripoli, when the latter replied that the right opportunity had not then arrived; for "the quarry should be pursued when lame or wounded." In 1911, long after this exchange of views, Italy invaded Tripoli and the Turks

wanted to send their troops through Egypt to resist Itlay's brigandage. This procedure, however, the friendly Britain successfully vatoed. On the outbreak of the last Balkan War, Mr. Asquith, the late Premier, enunciated the principle that whatever the result of the war, it should not effect the boundaries of the belligerent countries. Later on, when the tables seemed to be turning and the Turks had, owing to disorganization, to retreat, the same upright Premier was pleased to observe that the victor could not be deprived of the fruits of his conquest. In connection with the same war, the armistice was concluded just before the Turk's possession of Adrianople, when the delegates of the belligerents met under the presidency of Sir Edward, now Viscount Grey (the ex-Foreign Secretary of Britain), who fully exerted his influence to secure Adrianople for the Bulgars, a demand the Turks would not concede. Then Anwar Pasha, followed by a large number of troops, proceeded to rescue the beseiged Turkish division, with the result that Adrianople fell into Turkish hands. But Turkey's old and faithful ally Britain continued to insist on the evacuation of Adrianople.

The unnamable atrocities the Greeks and Bulgars perpetrated on Macedonian Musalmans during the Balkan war were such as to horrify any civilized people and M. Pierre Loti, the famous French writer, profoundly moved by them reduced them to a poignantly pathetic and immortal narrative. No voice, however, was raised on behalf of England against these atrocities, and no hand was stretched to succour the victims. In fact, the indifference displayed on this occasion tended to encourage the appalling intentions of the Balkan tyrants.

Again, it is common knowledge that Mr. Gladstone did not merely lack sympathy for the Turks, but devoted life-long endeavours to the extinction of European Turkey, and all his utterances regarding the Turks were hard-hearted and brimming with prejudice. Nor is Viscount Grey his faithful disciple, free from this accusation, for he too has exercised his powers to the detriment of the Turks. Although British statesmen's hostile

attitude against the only recognized Muslim Power seems to have been more or less consistent, the Indian Musalmans made another effort to let bygones be bygones, and placed ready reliance on the present Premier s pledge, contained in his well-known speech of January 5, 1918. He prefaced this pledge by asserting that his utterance contained, not merely the thoughts of the Government, but of the whole nation, and not merely of the nation, but "of the entire British Empire", and then proceeded to say, "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race." No pledge can be more unambiguous or more confident, nor can a clearer utterance be expected from a responsible minister of any other power. But the news which subsequently filtered down from Paris began to alter the features of this promise, and finally the well-known Sheffield speech of the Premier perpetrated its complete disfigurement, demonstrating to the world the fragile nature of so-called 'pledges and promises' which seem to be the slaves of circumstances, changing as circumstances change.

We were assured that the War would not affect the holy places, but we find almost all of them in non-Muslim hands to-day; and yet unsophisticated Muslims are expected to detect no violation of the promise vouchsafed to them in such a state of things. We Musalmans desire it to be distinctly understood that we regard both Mecca and Medina as being in non-Muslim hands, because the Sheriff himself appears to be creature of Christendom The other holy places are situated in similar or even worse circumstances. Leaving these two pledges aside, we find that some of the War aims and assurances most frequently reiterated by the Allies during the period of the War were : (1) that the War was waged in defence of justice and right; (2) that it was being fought for the emancipation of backward and small nations; (3) that it was not a religious struggle, but was meant to secure, to all the peoples of the world (irrespective of colour or race), the blessings of justice and freedom; (4) that it was undertaken to end tyranny and aggression and to terminate the usurpation of the rights of others; (5) that the vanquished

were not to be dealt with severely, but would have their legitimate rights duly considered, and (6) that there were to be no territorial annexations !

Now it is the moral responsibility of those who propounded these aims and vouchsafed these assurances to explain to the world their real meaning as they now appear in the light of current events. Let them explain which of their pledges or aims has been satisfied or violated by permitting Greece to occupy Smyrna and its neighbouring districts and by equipping France, England and Italy with authority to hold sway in Syria, Mesopotamia and Adalia, respectively. Conscious of what they have done, they are in a better position to expound to the world the spirit which has characterized their treatment of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim rights, and they alone can state whether Muslim nationalities have suffered aggression and oppression or not. Will they be so good as to explain to the people of this world, in unequivocal terms, which nationalities have been selected (irrespective of race or creed) for the fulfilment of their War aims and assurances ? Whether they decide to justify themselves or not, left the world realize the truth of it all. It is to be profoundly deplored that England's responsible ministers appear determined to impair the credit which she should do all to maintain in Asia. The Asiatics, too, now seem prepared to give such specious promises the credit they deserve. Where, indeed, are the famous 'Fourteen Points' of President Wilson, which the Turks and others accepted as basic principles, which led first to the welcome armistice and then to the conclusion of hostilities? Why has the paragraph referring to Turkey, which repudiated the annexation of territory and promised 'secure sovereignty' to the Ottoman Empire over its Turkish possessions, now become a dead letter ? What has become of the "principle of self-determination"? Let those who read and relied on this principle also peruse the proceedings of the National Association of the Syrians, clamouring for freedom, whose voices fall on deaf ears. The majority of the Syrian population is vociferously demanding the preservation of its liberty, but tender regard for French ambition required that Syria should be delivered up to France. Is it anything but an undisguised travesty of the principle of self- determination ?

The pathetic narrative of the infamous treatment meted out to the Turks does not end here, for they were subjected to trying ordeals even during the period of armistice. Pressure was brought to bear on them after the cessation of hostilities to evacuate Holy Medina, with the object of handing it over to Husain, the Sherif. Thus they were forcibly deprived of the last vestige of sovereignty over the Holy Land, and the treacherous Greeks were suffered to land their troops at Smyrna and occupy neighbouring districts about the same time. Considering that the Turks had surrendered their arms, and their troops had been demobilized, the Greeks met with no resistance whatsoever in anhieving their nefarious end, but were encouraged to perpetrate appalling atrocities.

The Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen afterwards recounted this situation with poignant anguish in the course of an interview he granted to a European journalist. His Imperial Majesty said : "Why should the faults of the Government be expiated through massacring, sacking and raping thousands of peaceful inhabitants in Asia Minor by Hellenic troops and Greek hands, whose atrocities are well known to you ?...cities are burnt, thousands of people are killed unjustly, and with the greatest ferocity. The excitement and despair amongst my people are very great. It looks as though a new war is raging already. But the terms of the armistice indirectly protect the Greeks, with whom we are not at war, and deprives us of every possibility of defending ourselves against their crimes. At the same time, the armistice disarms us. Our troops are demobilized. Before things get worse, the Powers must put an end to this butchery."

What hard-hearted Musalman can read these words of the Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen without being visibly moved; and what human being can help being deeply touched by reading the graphic description of the tragic plight of His Imperial Majesty's innocent subjects. The reprisals the Turks visited upon insurgent Armenians are magnified and termed 'atrocities' and are widely circulated in Europe to excite indignation and horror against the Turks; but if the Turks themselves are the victims of barbarous atrocities by Greeks and Armenians, the

philanthropic champions of humanity close their ears against their shrieks of agony. Are we to regard this as the criterion of the superior civilization which Europe seems to be proudly presenting as an ideal to the world ?

Is this an illustration of the sublime love of humanity of which the cultured nations complacently boast ? Time and again we are confidently assured that religious prejudice does not weigh with Europe. But the trend of events proves the contrary. Turkey has not committed the slightest breach of the terms of the armistice, and yet she has been subjected to the kind of treatment detailed above, whereas perfidious Italy has defiantly trampled under foot the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Fiume, and still her violent affront is patiently tolerated. Again Rumania, a much smaller State than Italy, in spite of being guilty of unmitigated brigandage in Hungary, has consistently treated the demands of the Council as unworthy of notice, thus behaving with unbridled defiance of international obligations. But her audacious reclacitrance is met with dignified toleration, possibly because she is a Christian state. Emphatic claims are being put forward for the mandatory control of Turkish provinces; but faithless and backward Bulgaria is considered fit not merely to enjoy full freedom, but to have an 'outlet to the Sea', although she, too, threw in her lot with Germany and fought against the Allies alongside of the Turks (without the admittedly clean methods of the latter). Nor is this all to complete the melancholy tale of religious prejudice against the Turks, for there are still other events which drive the point home. The Premier, while decorating General Allenby with an order commemorating the conquest of Palestine, preferred to call the Palestinian campaign a 'crusade' reviving the more or less forgotten and centuries-old memories of a series of religious hostilities between the Christians and the Muslims. The Prime Minister's resuscitation of this obsolescent term implies that the Powers of Christendom have not yet allowed the old memories to abate; and it is a mistake to regard the ancient series of crusades as terminated, since in winning the latest crusade, General Allenby, the Richard I of his time, has rendered Christendom that distinguished service which even his royal predecessor failed to accomplish.

Can we ask the Minister, who has rescued the centuries old term 'crusade' from oblivion, if according to him the Indian Muslims and unfortunate Arabs bled and died on the Syrian battlefield to win a battle, which this second Richard I won with the help of troops, two-thirds of which were Muslim, to be called a crusade afterwards ? Let these ministers remember that their present policy, and such flagrant indiscretions as the one just described are not merely a subtle source of pain to the 75 million Musalmans of India, but are calculated to sow the seeds of a potential estrangement throughout the Muslim world, which if suffered to grow may not prove conducive to calm contemplation of the undesirable results likely to follow.

In spite of all this the Indian Muslims have not swerved from the path of duty, and have remained firmly loyal. It is confidently hoped that they will in future continue to display the patience they have so far shown, and unflinchingly adhere to their primary civic duty. But how is the Government discharging the responsibilities with which it is burdened on behalf of the Musalmans ? Let us consider the concrete acts which answer this query.

Muslims and the Paris Peace Conference

The Peace Conference, which undertook the grave duty of pronouncing a final decision regarding not merely some Muslim peoples, but virtually regarding the entire Muslim world, proceeded with its onerous work without consulting a single Muslim representative. It was not considered necessary to observe the elementary principle of hearing the party, the question of whose life and death had to be decided, and it has not yet been considered proper to admit a Muslim representative to the Conference with which rests the pronouncement of the final verdict on Islam.

We are cognizant that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Mr. Montagu represented the Indian Muslim wishes to the best of their ability before the Peace Conference, and we are deeply grateful to both of them. But we know what objection there could possibly be to the selection of a Muslim representative ? And why, indeed, was so modest and

legitimate a demand of Indian Muslims relegated to the scrap-heap? The request made to the Prime Minister for receiving a deputation to present the views of Indian Muslims met with a cold reception, for the Premier was not ready to waste his precious time in listening to such useless matters. In the end memorialization was resorted to, although without securing any satisfactory assurance. We are thankful to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for the reference he made to this subject in his opening address to the Imperial Council, in its September Session of 1919, when he assured the Indian Muslims that he had done his best to represent the feelings and views of Indian Muslims to the Secretary of State. We must also thankfully acknowledge His Excellency's alusion to the Indian Musalman's acute anxiety regarding the question of Turkey, contained in the speech he made last November 24 at Madras. He said, 'I realize to the full and sympathize most deeply with the anxiety felt by all Muslims in India regarding the result of the negotiation of peace with Turkey. Knowing how strong those feelings are, I took measures to secure that their views should be represented fully to the Home Gove nment and to the authorities assembled at the Peace Conference. Special Muslim representatives were delegated to Paris to attend the Peace Conference; and whatever may be the result of these negotiations, and this must depend on factors which affect interests other than those of India or England, Indian Muslims may rest assured that their feelings have been fully represented. You may have noticed that Mr. Bonar Law, speaking in the House of Commons on November 3, said that the British Government was fully aware of the interest of Indian Mohammedans in the future of Turkey, and that they would give, as they had already given, full weight and consideration to their view".

We, however, find no word either in His Excellency's or in Mr. Bonar Law's utterances which may allay the anxiety we feel. In fact, no responsible representative of His Majesty, either here or in England, has yet permitted himself to breathe a word which may even savour of the assurance we Musalmans of India are awaiting with bated breath. We are fully aware that the result of the peace negotiation with Turkey depends on factors which affect interests other than those of Britain, nor

are we blind to French or Italian interests, of which the former seem to figure prominently in the considerations likely to determine England's attitude. We are, at the same time, tolerably certain that Ehgland's will be the decisive voice in the final settlement with Turkey; and therefore we are constrained to regard what may follow these negotiations as the result of England's strength or weakness. If England realized the true significance and friendly feelings of more than 300 million Muslims of the world, as against the comparatively paltry economic advantages to be derived from Mesopotamia, she would display less solicitude for the interests of France and Italy, and secure a just honourable settlement with Turkey, ushering in a wholly new era.

We are sincerely thankful to Mr. Montagu for undertaking the responsibility of correctly interpreting our views to the Peace Conference. In one of his speeches he was good enough to observe that he and his colleagues (Lord Sinha and H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner) insisted before the Council of the Four that nothing short of a just settlement on the basis of nationality would satisfy the Muslims, nor was any other settlement possible. That, indeed, would satisfy the Musalmans, but surely a 'settlement on the basis of nationality" cannot possibly imply that England and France should become the rulers of Arabia under the specious pretext of holding a 'mandate, a new-fangled invention bequeathed by the late War. Nor can that principle be said to have been respected by exposing Smyrna to the tyranny of the Greeks. The Muslims will be satisfied only when independence (in the true sense of the term) is secured to the Arabs and other Turkish subjects by assigning Turkey the mandate to administer their provinces, subject to the supervision of a League of Nations not swayed by more than one vote of each country. The Muslims know that the right to hold a mandate (if mandatory government is at all necessary) in any of the lands previously under Ottoman rule primarily belongs to Turkey, because the people inhabiting these lands are predominantly Muslim in faith, and no non-Muslim Power can under any pretext have the right to hold sway over them. The Musalmans cannot be expected to forget that these lands have been

the cradle of Islam, where the holy places are situated, and where no non-Muslim can ever have even the samblance of the right of mandatory or any other rule. Trampling upon Muslim sentiments in this respect would mean creating not transitory but perennial unrest in the entire Muslim world, which would otherwise mean the deliberate awakening of unfriendly feelings in an otherwise unobtrusive people.

Muslim and Non-Muslim Conception of the Khilafat

In the speech already referred to, we find Mr. Montagu assuring his Muslim fellow-subjects that no word had been used during the discussions at Paris, officially or otherwise, to show that any one was foolish enough to comtemplate meddling with the question of the Khilafat, which was purely for the Musalmans to determine. Nor did he think the holy places, or any sacred building, were at the time in any danger of interference. The first portion of this utterance is far from reassuring to the Mohammedans. We are not appealing to any one to refrain from interfering with that aspect of the question which is a matter of faith; for we know all the powers of earth are not puissant enough to change the religious convictions of any people. I can imagine no one to be so foolish as to ground his appeal to Britain on so obvious a misconception. On the contrary, our representations are based on the ground that temporal power is the chief factor of the Khilafat, which, it is feared, will be destroyed by dismembering the Ottoman Empire as contemplated. The Khilafat must not be reduced to the position of His Holiness the Pope at Rome, with his influence extending to spiritual confines only. And again, I am unable to understand the import of the second portion of his assurance regarding the immunity of the holy places. Who, indeed, today is the real ruler of Hijaz (where Mecca and Medina, the cities of the Prophet, are situated) behind Husain the Sherif, and who is holding and administering Baitul-Muqqadas (Holy Jerusalem), Karbala, Najaf-i-Ashraf, Kazmain-Sharifain, Baghdad and other places, in fact the whole of Jazirat-ul-Arab (the entire region where the holy places are situated) ? If the occupation of the holy places by non-Muslims does not spell danger for them, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the word.

Appreciation for Support of Some Englishmen

It would be rank ingratitude if we failed to acknowledge the eminent services rendered to Islam by some of the high-souled Englishmen who have proved that England is not destitute of men ready to espouse any cause based on righteousness and justice. In this connection, the names of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, Captain Aubrey Herbert, Sir Theodore Morrison and Professor E.G. Browne are worthy of special mention, and the fair and sympathetic attitude of Mr. C.F. Andrews and some other Britishers entitles them to our thanks. I may, at this stage, take the liberty of reproducing below some valuable excerpts from a speech Mr. Pickthall recently delivered dealing with this difficult Muslim Problem. He said :

"They say the Turkish Empire has always been abominably misgoverned. Well, I know, Turkey pretty well, and I declare that there was less discontent per head of the population in the Turkish Empire even in the worst of times than there has been in the British Empire at any time in my rememberance." In reference to Armenian massacres, he says, "They talk of horrid massacres from time to time. The massacres have never been on one side only. They were due to the seditious propaganda organized by the powers of Europe—chiefly Russia. And I say that any state, even the most civilized, subjected to the kind of treatment Turkey has received from Russia and other European Powers for a century would show precisely the same symptoms as Turkey has shown. You cannot thrust claws into a living frame without convulsions."

Then, dealing with the charge that the Turks were pro-German, he states in categorical terms : "In 1913, the Young Turks wished that England should assume the instructorship of the whole Ottoman Empire, the army included, for 10 years. Their object was, of course, to get protection against the designs of other European Powers during a period of reconstruction and reform. The mere suggestion was refused." He continues, "The men, like Enver Pasha, who had voted for the suggestion as a forlorn hope, said : You see they dare not act alone.

England has become the tail of Russia. She has sunk to the position of a third class power. The only chance which now remains to us is Germany." Further he says : "The pro-British part of the Committee (of Union and Progress)—the majority—were disappointed, but still persisted. They kept whittling down the offer, seeking to make it acceptable till it amounted to no more than a request that England would provide a certain number of Inspectors for Armenia, to superintend the reforms which the Turks were trying to push forward in those provinces against the whole force of Trarist intrigue. The force of that intrigue in eastern Anatolia all through 1913-14 amounted to a state of war. The Tsarist agents were using all the means at their disposal, and they had much larger means than the poor Turks possessed, to discredit the Turkish Government. They tried to work up wholesale massacres of Muslims and Armenians quite indifferently—massacres which were to serve as a pretext for the Russian occupation of the country—massacres which the Turks did all they could do to prevent ! Western Europe could not be brought to believe that Rusian intrigue was what it was—so barefaced, so rutheless—and the Young Turks thought that if they could get Englishmen in charge of those provinces, England at any rate would be bound to know and believe. England was bound to help them in Armenia by the terms of the Cyprus Convention. Well, that request was granted, as we all believed. It was refused months later Surely if these English Inspectors had been sent to Eastern Anatolia, if England had not turned up a 'Scrap of Paper', the last Armenian massacres would not have taken place." A clear consideration of all these matters leads to the one inference which has been embodied in the foregoing words.

Persia and the Anglo-Persian Agreement

The plight of Turkey was nearly enough to break the hearts of Indian Muslims, for whom news of the Anglo-Persian Agreement (calculated, in our opinion, to seal the doom of another Muslim Power) proved to be the last straw on the load of Indian Muslim anxiety.

Persia in her palmy days was a source of culture and enligh-

ten ment to Indian Muslims, and they are deeply indebted to her. With respect to the lines along which their social, traditional and literary development has proceeded, the Indian Musalmans cannot help entertaining a grateful regard for, and calling Persia their 'kind' old teacher'. I have already said that brother-hood (or the fundamental relationship which knits together the entire Muslim family of the world) is the cardinal principle of Islam, and therefore moved by feelings which suffuse the consciousness of the Musalmans (as a result of the intense realization of that teaching), they cannot help being gratified or grieved, as the case may be, at the preservation and prosperity or the decay and extinction of Muslim States. These feelings and sentiments, springing from the fundamentals of Islam, remain unaffected by unessential differences of various persuasions. We, therefore, observe that the Shia section of Musalmans, whose views regarding the essentials of the Khilafat question do not coincide with those of the Sunnis, are as intensely interested in the preservation of the Sultan's temporal power as they could possibly be in the welfare of Iran (Persia); and the entire Sunni population has as tender a feeling for Persia as any living Shia can possibly have.

Whether it be the Musalmans of Turkey or of Persia, both Sunnis and Shias and all other followers of Islam, are equally interested in and owe spiritual kindship with them, and that is why Indian Muslims are deeply affected by the agreement recently concluded between the British Government and Iran. The latter seems to have been the object of the former's attentions, on account of her (Persia) being a neighbour of India, and those attentions have long been materializing in the form of a definite policy. Persia has for years been the object of English and Russian diplomacy, aiming at the extension or restriction of respective 'spheres of influence', and as a consequence of this, all the hopes of a prosperous future, raised during the latest period of her evolutional struggle, were dashed to the ground. A severe blow was dealt to the hope of her economic development by causing the resignation of Mr. Shuster, her well-wisher; her political freedom had been impe-

rilled to the point of extinction by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1909. However, the great European War, whose painful aftermath is not over yet, resulted in the termination of the said Agreement, because Kerensky's Government declared it unconscionable and invalid. Had the Russian withdrawal been followed by British withdrawal, Persia would have been the recipient of a blessing. But now it appears that responsible British statesmen were awaiting the end of the War; and no sooner had favourable results made their appearance than they began to bestow their attention upon Persia, finally securing the conclusion of the agreement under review.

We are now compelled to look upon Persia as the Egypt of Asia. We fully expect English capitalists to construct railways and roads for motor services. And we may be sure to see the Finance Department completely overhauled, the audacity of men given to speculation materially pruned agriculture largely improved, oilfields worked by more capable men; but it appears that in regard to the factors on which depends the evolutional development of the Persian people, Persian hands and feet are in danger of being bound. Persia may now cease to have any conception of political liberty, and despair of working the resources of the country or accomplishing any real economic development with the aid of the country's capital. Henceforth Persia will be obliged to maintain a very low standard of education, and will be so juxtaposed as to be obliged to relieve her officials of much of the burden of their responsibility, as a consequence of which their efficiency will be undermined, and she will be constrained to depend on some other Power for a supply of experts—all these factors will contribute to the disappearance of her real freedom.

Apropos of the Anglo-Persian Agreement which is talked about in Europe and Asia to-day, I give below the gist of some of the articles which throw light on the nature of this Agreement.

By Article I of Part I of the Agreement (in so far as the parchment is concerned on which the agreement is indited), the Government of Great Britain "reiterates in the most cate-

gorical manner possible" the undertaking to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia", and thereby in a way incur a responsibility. According to the second and the third Articles it undertakes "to supply, at the cost of the Persian Government," advisers and experts "for the several departments of the Persian Administration," including, of course, Finance and Military Departments. These two Articles vitally react on the first, for is the Persian Govt. is committed to entrusting her military and finance to British advisers and specialists, it is obvious that the agreement reaches down to the very root of Persia's independence, otherwise guaranteed in the first Article. The third Article further stipulates, on behalf of Great Britain, the supply of "officers, munitions and equipment of modern type at the cost of the Persian Government," thereby relieving Persia of much of the difficulty she might otherwise have encountered. These Persia was granted a loan of £ 2,000,000 from England on interest at 7 per cent per annum, payable by instalments in 20 years, and by way of security of repayment she assigns England the receipts of all the revenues and customs of various provinces. England also assumes the responsibility of co-operating with the Persian Government in encouraging Anglo-Persian enterprise" by means of the "construction of railway and other forms of transport," thus enhancing the means of and facilitating communication. Further, Sir Percy Cox has secured the relinquishment, by the Persian Government, of any claim she might otherwise have made to be indemnified for the damage "caused by British troops during their presence in Persian territory"; and as a token of reciprocal return, the British Government has agreed to claim no "cost for the maintenance of the said troops sent to Persia owing to Persia's want of power to defend her neutrality."

If Persia, in her anxiety to defend her neutrality, requested the British Government to send British troops, she certainly cannot fairly claim any idemnity for and damage caused by the troops and not to burden her exchequer with the cost of the maintenance of these troops must necessarily be regarded as an act of obliging generosity. But if the presence of British troops in Persia was a strategic and ineluctable necessity dictated by for-

sight in regard to the defence of India, on the one hand, and the provision against the enemy descending by way of Persia on the advanced troops in Mesopotamia, on the other, I fear that securing the relinquishment of Persia's claim can hardly be based on fairness.

In fine, the complex problems connected with Turkey's present plight, and the virtual extinction of Persia's freedom, are some of the most fruitful and potent causes of the present unrest throughout the Muslim world, which, in my humble opinion, does not derive sustenance from sources of a temporary nature, because it lies down in the depth of faith, and its temporary abatement should not be treated as a sign of its complete subsidence. It has, as we are all aware, brought the Khilafat Committee into temporary existence to voice the true Muslim feelings and to secure the just treatment of Turkey and the preservation of the integrity of Persian independence. It is hoped that they will continue to respect the ethical duty imposed upon them as subjects of the Government, whose protection they enjoy, while banishing all hesitancy and timidity in giving fearless expression to their views—all within constitutional limits—during this crisis and after it. May the Khilafat Committee succeed in achieving what they have come into existence for, and may it not be found necessary to perpetuated or prolong its existence.

Muslim Abstention from Peace Celebrations

Gentlemen, allow me here to say a few words regarding the abstention of the Muslims from the official peace celebrations. The Muslims of India, along with other Indians, would willingly and enthusiastically have participated in the celebration, whatever its form, if the cessation of the war concluded in favour of the Allies had brought real peace and tranquillity in its train. But at a time when the only surviving Muslim Power appeared to be in imminent peril of being absorbed and the Muslim holy places had been weaned from Muslim custody, their abstention from the celebration could hardly be viewed as unjustified. Their religion forbade any participation in such a rejoicing; and whenever there is any conflict between the com-

mand of their faith and the wishes of officials, their first duty will be to obey the former, which no earthly considerations can possibly override.

Gratefulness to Hindu and Mahatma Gandhi

In this respect we Musalmans are deeply grateful to the Hindus for sharing our sorrow with sincere willingness, and giving enthusiastic expressions to their sympathatic feelings. The abstention of Hindus from peace celebrations (which included the suspension of business for some time in the evening for three or four days, and co-operating with Musalmans in observing the directions issued by the Anti-Peace-Celeberations Publicity Board) [out of regard, among other things, for Muslim sentiments, has made a deep impression on the Musalmans; and I trust the spirit which has achieved this result will continue to operate in the interest of preserving the impression created. At the same time, I confidently trust that in future the Musalmans will co-operate willingnly with their fellow-countrymen in all matters which may be of special and exclusive interest to the latter. I cannot at this stage help mentioning the revered name of Mahtama Gandhi, an acknowledge leader of our country, whose active sympathy, springing as it did from the depths of unalloyed sincerity and a correct conception of righteous action, has won him the grateful and reverential affection of all Musalmans of India. If thankfulness can be expressed in words, let me in the name of the Indian Muslim community thank the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi from the bottom of my heart.

Renewed Plea for Interness

Permit me, now, to say a word about the unfortunate Muslim and other internees, whose sufferings in exile have not known abatement in spite of the termination of the War. It seems as if the question of the release of our *Peshwa* (revered guide), Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hussain, and our brothers, Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, has ceased to engage that attention of the Government. The Musalmans, after having done what was possible for them to do, and having failed to secure the early release of these

devotees, to the national cause were hoping that after the cessation of the War, the Government would, at any early date, turn its attention to the question of releasing the internees—a hope doomed to disappointment! If, however. this listlessness of the Government continues, it will be time for a systematic public movement to draw the attention of the Government to this question.

It is, however, devoutly hoped that, such a necessity will not arise, that the Government will be found ready to reconsider the question of their release, and will terminate the painful period of their separation from us.

Conclusion

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry to have occupied so much of your valuable time, but the singular gravity of the present crisis in the Muslim world, and the vital questions arising out of the Punjab situation compelled me to linger on the points dealt with in my address, even to the exclusion of some other important problems. I sincerely thank you for the patient hearing you have accorded me, and crave your indulgence for the omissions and shortcomings patent on the face of my humble although honest and sincere submission. I am aware that the exceptional nature of the events now happening in the Muslim world has led me to dwell at length on topics of exclusively Muslim interest, but I have done so advisedly and in the confident hope that it cannot, as this time of day, lead any one to doubt the Musalmans' vivid consciousness of solemn duty they owe to their motherland. As children of the soil, they know and fervently desire to fulfil their duty to the country of which they, in common with Hindus, Christians, Parsis and other communities, are the proud inheritors. They have, I can assure all concerned, realized to the full the solemn call of the motherland, and the sacred duty of patriotism. I am proud to declare that the time has come when the necessity for exhorting people to live up to the highest standards of patriotism is rapidly diminishing; for the mysterious tide of human progress is pushing its sweep forward,

and the humblest being is becoming conscious of how to live and die for higher ideals. For India the unseen future holds a magnificence and splendour compared with which the most glorious grandeur of her past will be but small. Let all hands of men as well as of women join to unveil that vision.

14

CELEBRATED CRIMES OF* BRITISH RULERS

I have been called upon to presideo ver the Special Session of the Muslim League by virtue of its Constitution, which does not permit the election of a President except in the case of an annual session. The responsibility, therefore, of placing the grave aspects of the present situation before you has fallen on me as the President of the League. I am not going to tire you with weary details. We have met here principally to consider the situation that has arisen owing to the studied and persistent policy of the Government since the signing of the Armistice. First came the Rowlatt Bill—accompanied by the Punjab atrocities—and then came the spoliation of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the other our faith. Now, every country has two principal and vital functions to perform—one to assert its voice in international policy, and the other to maintain internally the highest ideals of justice and humanity. But one must have one's own administration in one's own hands to carry it on to one's own satisfaction. As we stand in matters international, India's voice is represented through His Majesty the King of England's Government, although nominally we happened to have two Indians who were supposed to represent us, they were neither the chosen nor the accredited representatives of India. The result was that notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the Musalmans, and in breach of the Prime Ministers's solemn pledges, unchivalrous and outrageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey and the Ottoman Empire has served for plunder and been broken up by the Allies under the guise of Mandates. This, thank God, has at last convinced us, one and all, that we can

*Presidential address delivered by M.A. Jinnah at the Extraordinary Session held at Calcutta on 17 September, 1920.

no longer abide our trust either in the Government of India or in the Government of His Majesty the King of England to represent India in matters international.

The Indian press is flooded by accounts of occurrences in the Colonies which show but too well how India is sacrificed to the individual interests of these Englishmen who have settled in these Colonies which India's manpower and India's work power have built.

And now let us turn to the Punjab. The Star Chamber Legislation named after the notorious Chairman of the Rowlatt Committee was launched by the Government of Lord Chelmsford, and it resulted in those 'celebrated crimes' which neither the words of men nor the tears of women can wash away. "An error of judgement", they call it. If that is the last word, I agree with them—an error of judgement it is and they shall have to pay for it, if not to-day then to-morrow. One thing there is which is indisputable, and that is that this Government must go and give place to completely responsible Government. Meetings of the Congress and the Muslim League will not effect this. We shall have to think out some course more effective than passing resolutions of disapproval to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. And we shall surely find a way, even as France and Italy did—and the new-born Egypt has. We are not going to rest content until we have attained the fullest political freedom in our own country. Mr. Gandhi has placed his programme of non-co-operation, supported by the authority of the Khilafat Conference, before the country. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its principle; and approving of its principle, whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and therefore it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the question before you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances.

In the meanwhile, there sits in *Olympian Simla* a self-

satisfied Viceroy who alternately offers his sympathies to us unfortunate Musalmans and regrets Mahatma Gandhi's "foolish of all foolish schemes", being fortified with a 'character' from His Majesty's Government sent in a recent Despatch from 'Home'—the word Home is in inverted commas. This is the 'changed angle of vision' on which we heard such high-sounding phrases during those critical stages of the war when India's blood and India's gold was sought and unfortunately given—given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt Legislation.

One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon disappointment and injury upon injury, can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. May it lead India to freedom. The unsatisfactory character of the 'Reforms' evolved by the timidity of Mr. Montagu and the prejudice of Lord Chelmsford, marred by its own rules and regulations, and worked under the influence of Lord Chelmsford's Government, offers us if I may quote the words of a well-known author, "license for liberty, and licence does not compensate for liberty". We may have Indians as Lieutenant-Governors and Governors and, for the matter of that, Viceroys That is license, but that is not liberty. What we want is true political freedom of the people, not posts and positions in Government. Secondly, the unusual haste displayed in the passing of the Rowlatt Act before the new Council, and contrary to universal opinion, only goes to illustrate the policy of the Government. And when, in the Punjab, this universal opposition against the Rowlatt Act manifested itself through constitutional methods, it fell to the lot of the Lieutenant-Governor to dishonestly characterize it as "open rebellion". Only his administrative genius could have conjured up a vision of 'open rebellion" in a country whose people have been brutally unarmed, and only his cowardly spirit could have requisitioned the application of martial law, secure in his knowledge that, weaponless, there could be no retaliation. Martial law was introduced; the manner and circumstances of its proclamation and its administration was calculated to destroy political freedom, political life, not only in the Punjab but thoughout India, by striking terror into the hearts of its people. The majority

report of the Hunter Committee is one more flagrant and disgraceful instance that there can be no justice when there is a conflict between an Englishman and an Indian. The Government of India, with its keen sense of humour and characteristic modesty, proceeds to forward a resolution in its despatch to the Secretary of State commending its conduct, blind to the fact that they were in the position of an accused passing judgment.

Now, let us turn to the great "error of judgement", the judicious finding of the Cabinet which itself is no less an error of judgement and that was duly wired to us by Reuter. To follow up events in sequence, I must mention the Parliamentary debate which forgot the Pnnjab and discussed general Dyer. Of course Mr. Montagu hadn't the time to put India's case before the House, being far too busy offering personal explanations. And then the blue and brainless blood of England, to their crowning glory, carried the infamous resolution of Lord Finlay.

And what of the sacred land of the Crescent and Star and the blue and golden Bosphorus—its capital seized and the Khalifa virtually a prisoner, its territories overrurn by Allied troops—groaning under an imposition of impossible terms. It is a death warrant, not a treaty.

These are the enormities crying aloud, and we have met today face to face with a dangerous and most unprecedented situation. The solution is not easy and the difficulties are great. But I cannot ask the people to submit to wrong after wrong Yet I would still ask the Government not to drive the people of India to desperation, or else there is no other course left upon to the people except to inaugurate the policy of non-co-operation, though not necessarily the Programme of Mr. Gandhi.

I do not wish to detain you any more but before I sit down I will say this remember that united we stand, divided we fall—and throughout your discussion I beg of you not to lose sight of that. I am certain that every member of the Muslim

League will rise to that high sense of duty which he owes to his community and his country: and in course of our deliberations and discussion—whataver the differences of opinion may be,—we must give credit to each other than each in his own way is doing his best for his motherland and for his home and for his country. In that spirit, I would urge upon you to proceed with your deliberations, and I have no doubt that the collective wisdom. the united wisdom, of the best intellect of the Musalmans will not fail to find a solution of the question which we consider, from a purely Musalman point of view, a matter of life and death, namely, the Khilafat question. I have no doubt that with over 70 millions of Musalmans, led by the best intellect and brains of the community, success is assured.

15

IN DEFENCE OF NON-CO-OPERATION*

The Khilafat and the Punjab questions naturally bring one to a consideration of the methods by which these wrongs should be redressed and their repetition made impossible. It is not only the question of the Khilafat or the Punjab, the repressive legislation or the shameful treatment of Indians in different parts of the British Empire, but it is the sprit behind the individual actions which has to be fought and conquered. To any one who tries to look deeper, it becomes obvious that these specific actions are the natural outcome of the notion of superiority of the West over the East, the greed and lust of power, the desire of exploitation of the weaker nations for the benefit of the stronger, and the determination of the Western nations to prepetuate the bondage and slavery of Asiatic people. It is, therefore, not only a question of India's honour and freedom, but of a great struggle for the emancipation of all the enslaved Asiatic people from the thraldom of the West. In the foregoing observations, I have endeavoured to show that all the talk about liberation of the weaker nations from an oppressive yoke, the right to freedom of subject nationalities and the principle of self-determination indulged in by the Allied statesmen have been a delusion and a snare. The question then arises, whether we in India are going to do anything to discipline and organize ourselves in order to gain our rights, or are we going to continue the old policy of mendicancy, petitioning others to grant us our inherent rights.

Non-Co-Operation

So far as the Musalmans are concerned the principle of

*Presidential address delivered by M.A. Ansari at the Nagpur session held on 30-31 December, 1920.

non-co-operation is not a new idea; rather it is a clear and definite injunction of the divine *Shariat* which the Musalmans of India had in their forgetfulness consigned to oblivion. At the commencement, some members of the Khilafat Committee and some of the leading Muslim divines brought this matter before the public; and when the question was carefully discussed, as regards the application of this principle, it was decided that the present times furnish all the circumstances and the conditions laid down in the Muslim *Shariat*. It has therefore become binding that we should practise non-co-operation against the opponents of Islam.

Mahatma Gandhi's far-sighted mind saw, in this Muslim religious principle, an effective method of wide application well suited to the present political requirements of the country and entirely in conformity with the principle of Satyagraha. His whole-hearted and single-minded advocacy of this principle resulted in its adoption by all the great political organizations representing the viewsof the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of this country. Non-co-operation is based on the obvious truth that no Government can carry on the administration of a country without the active co-operation or passive overwhelming majority of the inhabitants that country. And if the Government of the country be unjust and heedless of the rights and liberties of the people, the only peaceful way of reforming the recalcitrant Government is to cease co-operation with it.

The consideration of this principle from the ethical point of view need not detain us very long. In order to have any wrong done to a people redressed, it is not enough that a few individuals should be cognizant of the wrong : the entire people, or at least a large majority of them, must feel the wrong. Then again the mere fact of feeling a wrong does not absolve you from your moral duty; you must refuse to help the wrong-wrong doer in perpetuating the wrong, and by creating a very strong public opinion, you must make the repetition of that wrong impossible.

As regards the religious aspect of this principle, I shall only discuss it briefly from the Muslim point of view. The Muslim

Shariat enjoins *tark-i-mawalat*, or the abandonment of friendship (which means no connection of love, service or help), with those non-Muslims who are enemies at war with Islam and Muslim countries. Again the Holy Quran imperatively demands that Musalmans should behave righteously, affectionately and in a friendly manner towards all those non-Muslims who are neither at war with Muslims nor are they assailants intending to invade or occupy their territories. "Allah does not forbid you respecting those who have not made war against you on account of (your) religion, and have not driven you forth from your homes, that you show them kindness and deal with them justly; surely, Allah loves the doers of justice. Allah only forbids you respecting those who made war upon you on account of (your) religion, and drove you forth from your homes and backed up (others) in your expulsion, that you make friends with them and whoever makes friends with them : these are the unjust." (Quran : *Sura-i-Mumtahanah* 60 : 8-9) And Allah says : "Oh you who believe ! Do not take my enemy and your enemy for friends. Would you offer them love while they deny what has come to you of the truth ?" (Quran :*Sura-i-Mumtahanah*—60 : !)

It is not necessary to lay stress on the fact that non-co-operation is not only a political or a moral necessity to a Musalman, it is a religious obligation and hence a graver responsibility attaches to him in carrying it out.

Survey of Progress

A brief survey of the progress of non-co-operation during the last three months would be helpful in forming an estimate of its wide-spread acceptance and the steady manner in which it is spreading.

The boycott of Councils by the nationalists has been complete. The electors have also given a very clear verdict against the so-called Reformed Councils. The exact figures are not yet available, only rough estimate can be made. In a vast majority of the constituencies, the percentage of electors who recorded their votes was about 10; in a small number, between

10 and 25; and in only a few, above 25. No amount of explanation would convince the world that so far as the people of India are concerned, they would care to have anything to do with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

The response which the young people of India have given has been very substantial and most encouraging, and this in spite of the difficulties and obstacles which have been placed in their way by the educational staff and authorities.

I cannot help feeling proud of the fact that the students of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, gave a lead in this matter. You have all heard how that august assembly of the Trustees of the M.A.O. College, gathered in an informal meeting at Aligarh, gave scant hearing to the call of their religion, in which was also involved the cause of their country's honour and freedom. You know how the feeble voice of those who invited them as a matter of conscience to give up the Govt. grant-in-aid, to disaffiliate their College from the Government University and to nationalize it fell on deaf ears. You are aware in what an insolent and overbearing manner the Government-bidden. packed majority rejected our demand and condemned our action. Then followed the insufferable high-handedness of the College authorities, who stopped the food, water-supply, sanitary arrangements and medical aid of the non-co-operating students ` And lastly, the culminating act of the infuriated. panic-stricken authorities was to turn out the students from the College with the help of the police force.

All the while, intimidation, presuasion, social and moral pressure were being brought to bear on these students. But they stood firm and behaved with marvellous patience and fortitude. They left the College peacefully and quietly to take up their abode in the new quarters of the National Muslim University (Jamia Millia Islamia). Ever since then a campaign of calumnies and vilification has been deliberately carried on against the Principal, his supporters and the students of the new institution. The Aligarh College authorities have descended in their rage to the lowest depth, and have thrown

away all decency and decorum to the winds. The columns of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* have been opened to the vilest abuse and all the available English and vernacular dailies are requisitioned for this propaganda of invective, calumny and scandal. But with the help of the band of those staunch, sturdy and strong minded young students, the newly inaugurated National Muslim University has gone on daily adding to its number, until six bungalows have now been rented to accommodate the students who have joined the University. We have no fear for the future. We have full faith that our University will go forward on its march of progress, and one day, God wiliing, the old institution, being purged of all its evils, will merge into the new.

The sister National University at Ahmedabad, with Mahatma Gandhi its Chancellor and that noble and brave man, Mr. A.T. Gidwani, as the Principal wlll keep the torch of learning alight in Gujrat, illuminating the darkness of the institutions where knowledge is only a concomitant of moral and mental slavery.

The Khalsa College, the Islamia College of Lahore and the Hindu University students are putting up a brave fight. Our best wishes are with them in their effort to break the fetter, which still enslave them.

Our sincere congratulations and good wishes are offered to the Board of Management and students of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema at Lucknow, for the way in which they have refused the Government grant.

As for the national schools, so many are daily coming into existence all over the country that it is difficult at present to furnish a complete list. There is a great future for education on national lines; and if non-co-operation does nothing more than remove the evils of the present system of education, it shall have fully justified its inception.

Swadeshi goods have received a great impetus from the movement of non-co-operation. Everywhere larger and larger numbers of people are taking to wearing cloth manufactured in India.

to give up the Govt. grant-in-aid—although in many cases, they admit the evils arising from the grants. Similarly in the case of lawyers, the suspension of their practice in Government, courts will be followed by the formation of arbitration courts where a number of them may find work. Moreover, the critics forget that non-co-operation is not an end in itself, but simply a means to attain *Swaraj*, which surely is the most constructive of all construction things.

It is forgotten by the critics that non-co-operation is non-violent, and the very fact of its eschewing violence of every kind shows that it is not based on hatred or enmity against any individual. Not only does it (non-co-operation), include the preaching and practice of non-violence, but the non-co-operator is strictly, enjoined to make it his personal concern to consider the life, honour and property of every man, English or Indian, sacred and inviolable. It is fully realized by non-co-operators that any violence would end in the utter failure of this method of achieving *Swaraj*. Whatever bitterness exists is the result of the Govt.'s action regarding the Punjab and the Khilafat. It can fairly be claimed that non-co-operation has had the effect of lessening the bitterness and directing the thoughts the energies of the people towards self-discipline, self-sacrifice and organization. Sacrifice, not hatred, is the basis of non-co-operation.

It has been demonstrated, both during the Punjab disturbances and at other times, that if the masses have been controlled and diverted from violence and fury, it is by means of satyagraha and the non-co-operation movement. It is the fashion of the opponents of non-co-operation to describe every act of lawlessness as the result of non-co-operation. Facts prove just the contrary. Non-co-operation appeals to the finest instincts of the people, whether they are educated or ignorant. It preaches law and order, it preaches self-discipline and self-sacrifice, it preaches non-violence.

The very fact that the money (received by educational institutions) is called 'Government grant-in-aid' and is given and accepted as a bounty from the Government shows that, although the money comes from the taxpayer's pocket, it is

given as a gift from the Government to the people. It becomes all the more degrading that money collected from the people is used by the Government for imposing irksome conditions and restrictions on the people. Can it be truthfully said that this money is used as freely, and without any let or hindrance, as the money received as a contribution from people at large ? Can these institutions, while receiving the Government grants-in-aid, stop meddlesome inspectors of schools from visiting these institutions and generally misdirecting their work ? Can these institutions use textbooks of their own choosing, or invite any one to lecture to the boys on the economic slavery of India or any such subject ? It is clear that by giving this pittance the Government controls the institutions fully and completely, though the money may be our own; and if anything is fatal to the free growth of our educational institutions, it is Government control, whose admitted aim is to denationalize Indians and make slaves and clerks of them.

Another criticism pre-supposes that the Councils confer some real benefit on the people. Past experience and the constitutions governing the new Councils prove otherwise. The Councils have no control over the army, the navy, foreign relations, the Civil Service, she Imperial Educational Service, the Indian Medical Service, finance, fiscal policy, and indeed on anything that really matters regarding the government of the country. The Governors and the Viceroy have still got unlimited powers of veto. What would be the use then of going to these Councils and wasting time in useless debates ?

The Government Attitude

At first the attitude of the Government was that of ridicule. Every epithet that could show the movement in a bad light was used. Nothing could be more futile or ill-advised. It was said that the movement was bound to fail by reason of its intrinsic inanity. The nature of this visionary scheme was unpractical. It was the most foolish of all foolish schemes. But the ridicule did not kill this movement, and the Government had to assume a less contemptuous way of dealing with the

situation. A solemn effort was made to rally the supporters of Government. The Moderates were asked to organize themselves to destroy this movement; otherwise it was threatened that repression would be started. In spite of the efforts of the faithful Moderates, this inane movement did not die; and as the efforts 'to laugh out' the movement missed the mark, ridicule by Government and inane efforts of the Moderates soon changed to words and deeds full of gravity, and the mighty Government felt constrained to resort to coercion, the last weapon in its armoury. Repression, which was started by the prosecution of a number of people, has now given place to gagging large and important sections of the Indian people by the application of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911, part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, to politically advanced areas. Nor is this all, for worse things still appear to be in store for this 'laughable' movement. After all, if it was only a contemptible fly, which it was supposed to be, where is the necessity of killing it with a sledge hammer used with the force of a giant ?

Conclusion

So far I have dealt with facts familiar to all, and covered what is well-known ground. But may I, without intending to weary you, add a few more words ? There appears to be a kind of deadlock between the bureaucracy and the people of this land, from the point of the view of the Government, and all because India has awakened, after age-long slumber, to a keen sense of self-respect, self-reliance and self-organization : because India is now determined not to submit to any 'secondary position' in matters which are primarily her and her childt ren's concern. She has awakened to a strong sense of presen- thraldom and helotry—and also of her legitimate heritage of freedom. The bureaucrat is still thinking in the obsolete terms of governing with the mailed fist covered by the velvet glove, because he cannot reconcile himself to the perfectly valid claims of self-respecting India, and continues to dream sweet dreams of gaining yet another lease of autocratic life—for exploiting the rich resources of our country and the noble ..d se'f-effacing

nature of our poor inimidated countrymen. The deadlock is inevitable, because while we have ceased to think in terms of slavery, the heartless bureaucratic machinery, incapable of imagination, continues to work as before we refused to be exploited; and the Government devises cunning plans to ensnare us, to coax, cajole or coerce us into submission. But they forget that we are no longer inspired by any but the highest ideal of complete *Swaraj*, which leaves no room for any bargains for seats on legislative bodies or transferred 'subjects. So long as we do not have plenary powers to control, guide and change the entire government of our country...to suit the interests of the largest number of our countrymen, why must our freinds continue to din into our ears the virtues of the 'advance' the new conditions mark? So long as they do not divest themselves of the mentality which cannot cease to talk of 'advances and concessions', there is no hope of the deadlock coming to an end. To us, however, who are determined to redeem our birthright at any cost, excepting violence, the state of affairs described as a deadlock marks the beginning of our self-organizing efforts. The Government have forfeited our confidence by violating their pledges, eulogizing tyrants, and supporting perpetrators of inhuman atrocities and other exhibitions of a sad want of morality. The feeling of distrust has permeated the masses not only of India, but of the whole East, as borne out by what the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Kamalist Turks, the Persian nationalists, the Chinese and last, but not the least, the Japanese have at different times, and independently of one another, said in non-official or semi-official organs of opinion. This also appears to be the opinion of even such a partisan as Sir Valentine Chirol.

To win the co-operation of India, there is nothing for our alien freinds but first to disabuse their minds of (ideas of) domination, race-supremacy and kindred evils, secondly to do ample penance for past wrongs—such as the dismemberment and subjugation of the Khalifa's temporal and spiritual empire, and the massacre of Jallianwala—and lastly to recognize, in unmistakable terms and in actual practice, the sovereignty of the people of India.

As regards the suggesrion about a conference of leaders of public opinion, it may be said that in the present state of high tension in the country no good purpose can be served by attempting any rapprochement before there has been a complete vindication of the people's honours and sovereignty. No one can say that the wanton blows that are being dealt at the self-organizing efforts of honest patriots can ever result in any pacification. There is no trace of any willingness on the part of Government or certain important sections of anti-Indian Europeans (the consideration of whose views seems to weigh so much with the bureaucrats) to descend from the clouds—there appears to be a good deal too much of the 'pride of power.'

16

NEED FOR CONGRESS–LEAGUE COMPACT*

Gentleman, while thanking you for electing me to preside over this session of the All-India Muslim League, I wish to say in all sincerity that the importance of this session of the League, in which the fate of Hindustan is to be decided, required the choice of a person abler than myself, such as Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. Kitchlew or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to preside over its deliberation; but, unfortunately, the Government has forcibly taken away the first two gentlemen from us. I expressed my inability to accept the responsibility. Consequently, as the proverb goes, "if thou dost not accept it willingly, it will be forced on thee", this great duty was placed on my weak shoulders. I wish to discharge it to the best of my ability Success is in the hand of God.

The Aims of the League

The present condition of the League appears to be very weak indeed; but this does not in the least derogate from its real importance, for it was the All-India Muslim League which actually realized the first and the most essential condition of Indian independence, Hindu-Muslim unity; and now that it has been achieved, it is the duty of the League to maintain it also. Besides, it is on the platform of the League that all sections of political opinion amongst the Musalmans, extremists, have so far been, and in future, too, will probably be brought together. Before going into the causes of the weakness of the League, it will be better to enumerate the aims and

---

* Presidential address delivered by Maulana Hasrat Mohani at the Ahmedabad Session held on 30 December, 1921.

objects of the League. There are (1) the attainment of *Swaraj* by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means; (2) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans; (3) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India; (4) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries.

The first of these is also known to be the creed of the Congress. Therefore, so long as the word *Swaraj* is not defined in consonance with Muslim desire, and the means for its attainment are not amplified, it is only natural that Muslim interests in the League should be meagre. The third object, Hindu-Muslim unity, is the common object, both of the League and the Congress. The fourth object, the unity of the Muslim world, which has been, along with other questions, connected with the Khilafat, has been specially taken up by the Khilafat Committee. There remains only the second object, that is the protection of the special interests of the Musalmans. As to this, so long as a much greater and more important object, that is, the attainment of *Swaraj* still remains unachieved, people would rather direct their united efforts against the common enemy than look after their special interests. They will be attended to when the time comes for it. As if these causes were not sufficient in themselves to decrease the influence of the League, its rules and regulations were, unfortunately, so framed that, while public opinion has developed at a rapid pace, most members of the League have not moved an inch from their first position. As a result, the League remains nothing more than an old calendar. It is very necessary to remove the causes of the weakness of the League and to remove them immediately; for in proportion as we approach nearer and nearer to the goal of *Swaraj*, the need of the League will be felt more and more, because questions of special Muslim rights will rise again with greater importance when India is free.

Our first duty, therefore, should be to reduce the fee for

the membership of the League and thus increase its members, who will choose their League representatives every year. The members to the Council of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim Leagues should be chosen, as in the case of the Congress, every year.

An Indian Republic or a United States of India

But the most pressing necessity of all is a change in the first object of the League to suit changed Muslim conditions. Everyone of us knows that the word *Swaraj* has been definitely left vague and undefined in the creed of the Congress. The object of it has been that. if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are settled on the lines of our demands, then *Swaraj* within the British Empire will be considered sufficient; otherwise efforts will be directed towards the attainment of complete independence. But, gentlemen, from the Muslim point of view, it is not enough that we should stand for complete independence alone. It is necessary to decide upon the form that it should take; and in my opinion it can only be an Indian Republic or on the lines of a United States of India.

Besides this, the term 'peaceful', which defines and restricts the scope of the legitimate means for the attainment of *Swaraj* in the Congress creed, is opposed to the nature and religious aspirations of the Musalmans. Therefore, in the creed of the League, the words 'possible' and 'proper' should be substituted for the words 'legitimate' and 'peaceful'. I will explain the matter in detail. The Musalmans should understand clearly that they derive a two-fold advantage from the establishment of an Indian Republic: firstly, the general benefit which they will undoubtedly share along with their Indian brethren as citizens of a common State; secondly, the special advantage which the Musalmans will derive from it is that, with every decline in the prestige and power of the British Empire, which to-day is the worst enemy of Muslim countries, the Muslim world will get breathing time and opportunity to improve its condition. Gentlemen, in spite of the present Hindu-Muslim unity, many serious misunderstandings and suspicions still exist between these two

great communities of Hindustan, and it is of primary importance that we should grasp the true nature of these misunderstandings. The Hindus have a lurking suspicion that, given an opportunity, the Musalmans will either invite their co-religionists from outside to invade India or would, at least, help them in case they invaded to plunder and devastate Hindustan. These misunderstandings are so deep-rooted and widespread that, so far as my knowledge goes, no Indian statesman has escaped them, except the late Lokamanya Tilak. On the other hand, the Musalmans suspect that on the achievement of self-government, the Hindus will acquire greater political powers and will use their numerical superiority to crush the Musalmans. Gentleman, it is quite clear that these misunderstandings can only be overcome by a conciliatory discussion and mutual and intimate understanding; and it is an essential condition of this mutual understanding that the third party should not come between them.

Hindus and Muslims

The generality of Musalmans, with few exceptions, are afraid of the numerical superiority of the Hindus, and are absolutely opposed to an ordinary reform scheme as a substitute for complete independence. The primary reason for this is that in a merely reformed, as contrasted with an independent government, they will be under a double suspicion: first, a subjection to the Government of India, which will be common to Hindus and Musalmans; secondly, a rejection by a Hindu majority, which they will have to face in every department of Government. On the other hand, if the danger of the English power is removed, the Musalmans will only have the Hindu majority to fear. Fortunately this fear is such that it will be automatically removed with the establishment of the Indian Republic; for while the Musalmans, as a whole, are in a minority in India, yet nature has provided a compensation in the fact that the Musalmans are not in a minority in all provinces. In some provinces, such as Kashmir, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Asasm, the Musalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. This Muslim majority will be an

assurance that in the United States of India, the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Musalmans. Similarly, so long as a completely liberated India does not come into the hands of the Hindus and Musalmans themselves, the Hindus will always be suspicious that, in case of a foreign invasion, the Musalmans would aid their co-religionist invaders; but on the establishment of the Indian Republic, which will be shared in common by Musalmans and Hindus, there will be no possibility of such a suspicion, for no Musalman would desire that the power of even a Muslim foreigner should be established over his country.

The Mopla Rebellion

Gentlemen, I have just stated it as a necessary condition of the Hindu-Muslim compromise that the third party, the English, should not be allowed to step in between us. Otherwise, all our affairs will fall into disorder. Its best example is before you in the shape of the Mopla incident. You are probably aware that Hindu India has an open and direct complaint against the Moplas, and an indirect complaint against all of us, that the Moplas are plundering and spoiling their innocent Hindu neighbours; but possibly you are not aware that the Moplas justify their action on the ground that, at such a critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the English, their neighbours not only do not help them or observe neutrality, but aid and assist the English in every possible way. They can, no doubt, contend that, while they are fighting a defensive war for the sake of their religion and have left their homes, property and belongings, and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it is unfair to characterize as plunder their commandeering of money, provisions and other necessaries for their troops from the English or their supporters. Both are right in their complaints; but so far as my investigation goes, the cause of this mutual recrimination can be traced to the interference of the third party. It happens thus : whenever any English detachment suddenly appears in a

locality and kills or captures the Mopla inhabitants of the place, rumour somehow spreads in the neighbourhood that the Hindu inhabitants of the place had invited the English army for their protection, with the result that after the departure of the English troops, the neighbouring Moplas do not hesitate to retaliate, and consider the money and other belongings of the Hindus as lawful spoils of war taken from those who have aided and abetted the enemy. Where no such events have occurred, the Moplas and Hindus even now live peacefully side by side; Moplas do not commit any excesses against the Hindus, while the Hindus do not hesitate in helping the Moplas to the best of their ability.

A National Parliament

I have wandered far from my purpose. I meant to emphasize that, in the first clause dealing with the aims and objects of the League, the word *Swaraj* should be defined as complete independence in the cause of an Indian republic. Otherwise, there is a danger that in the presence of a third party, self-government within the British Empire, instead of being beneficial, might actually prove injurious. The second amendment necessary is that the methods for the attainment of *Swaraj* should be amplified. In the place of 'peaceful' and 'legitimate' means 'possible' and 'proper' should be permitted. Thus, on the one hand, the opportunity of joining the League will be given to those who do not honestly believe in non-co-operation as the sole path of salvation, recognizing the possibility of other methods and adopting them also. On the other hand, the amendment will remove the complaint of those who believe that non-co-operation cannot, under any circumstances, remain peaceful to the last, and who, while subscribing to the creed of the Congress, and to the first clause of the section dealing with the objects of the League, as a matter of policy and expediency, refuse to admit it as a faith for all times and circumstances—or to remain non-violent even in intention.

Gentlemen, there are only two possible means of replacing

one government by another. One is the destruction of an existing government by the sword and the establishment of another in its place—a method which has been followed in the world thus far. The second alternative is to sever all connections with the present government, and to set up a better organized government parallel to it, and to improve and develop it till the old order is dissolved and the new takes its place Friends, to achieve this object, we must immediately set up on a separate and permanent foundation, our courts, schools, arts, industries, army, police—and a national parliament. Non-violent non-co-operation can only help to paralyse government, it cannot maintain it. The question now is, can such a parallel government be established only through non-violent non-co-operation—of course, provided the rival government does not interfere with its establishment—a condition which is obviously impossible. The rival government will certainly interfere. We might contend that we will proceed on with our work silently and quietly and in spite of governmental interference, as is being done at present. A stage will, however, be reached ultimately, when action on peaceful lines will become absolutely impossible; and then we shall be forced to admit that a parallel government can be started, but not continue to the last through peaceful means.

Governmental Policy

Examples of Government repression are before your eyes. First, it attempted, through the Karachi trials, to prevent the Musalmans from openly proclaiming the articles of their faith. When the people, undaunted by this decision of the Government, preached throughout the length and breadth of India that it was unlawful to serve in the army, the Government slowly overlooked these activities, fearing that a mere repetition of the Karachi resolution might lead to disaffection in the Army. And in order to divert the attention of the people from these activities, it suddenly, but deliberately declared the enrollment of volunteers unlawful, so that it might get an opportunity of striking at the non-co-operators. Like moths that gather to sacrifice their lives around a lighted candle, the

advocates of civil disobedience swarmed forward to break this declaration of Lord Reading and cheerfully went to jail in their thousands. This is undoubtedly an example of self-sacrifice and self-effacement which will rightly move Mahatma Gandhi to ecstasy; but we detect another truth hidden in this demonstration of happiness any joy. It reveals to our eyes the last stages of both the repression of the Government and the patience of the people. The people are, no doubt, prepared gladly to bear and suffer the hardships of a few days of imprisonment; but on the declaration of martial law, the non-co-operation movement will prove totally insufficient and useless. Amongst the Musalmans, at least, there will hardly be found a man who will be prepared to sacrifice his life uselessly. A man can only have one of two feelings in his heart when faced by the barrel of a gun : either to seek refuge in flight or to take advantage of the law of self-preservation and despatch the adversary to hell. The third alternative of cheerfully yielding up one's life to the enemy, and considering it to be the one real success, will remain confined to Mahatma Gandhi and some of his adherents and fellow-thinkers. I, on my part, fear that in general the reply to martial law will be what is commonly called guerilla warfare . . . The responsibility lies with the representatives of the Musalmans.

Consequently, as representatives of the Musalmans, the members of the All-India Muslim League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting non-co-operation as their creed, or to free it from the limitation of keeping it either violent or non-violent; for it is not in our power to keep non-co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as the Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters, non-co-operation can remain as peaceful as it is to-day; but if things go further and the Government has recourse to gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible for the movement to remain non-violent.

The Duty of Muslims

At this stage, some people would like to ask how it is that, while the Hindus are content to adopt non-violent non-co-

operation as the means for attaining independence, the Musalmans are anxious to go a step further. The answer is that the liberation of Hindustan is as much a political duty of a Musalman as that of a Hindu. Owing to the question of the Khilafat, it has become a Musalman's religious duty as well.

In this connection, I should like to say just one word. The glories of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the conclusion of the recent Franco-Turkish Treaty might create an idea in some people's minds that the evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks is certain, and the restoration of Thrace to the Turks, if not certain, is within the bounds of possibility. Consequently, they might entertain the hope that the struggle in the Near East is coming to a close. I want to warn all such people that the claims of the Musalmans of India are founded more on religious than political principles. So long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab (including Palestine and Mesopotamia) are not absolutely freed from non-Muslim influence, and so long as the political and military power of the Khilafat is not fully restored, the Musalmans of India connot suspend their activities and efforts.

Muslim Demands

As regards the Khilafat, the Muslim demands are these : (1) that in the pursuance of the promise of Mr. Llyod George, Thrace and Smyrna, along with the city of Symrna (Izmir), should remain under purely Tukish control, so that the political status of the Khilafat-ul-Muslimeen which is essential for the Khilafat, should suffer no diminution; (2) all non-Turkish control should be removed from Constantinople, the shores of Marmora and the Dardanelles, in order that the Khilafat at Constantinople may not be under non-Muslim control, which is essential for the Khilafat; (3) all naval and military restrictions imposed on the Khilafat should be removed, as otherwise, the Khalifa would have no power to enforce his orders; (4) the Jazirat-ul-Arab, including the Hedjaz, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, should be free from all non-Muslim influence, and not be under British mandate; as it was the death-bed

injunction of the Prophet. It should be noted that in the fourth demand, we wish the English to give up their mandate over Mesopotamia and Palestine, and to remove their influence from the Hedjaz. As to the questions of whether the Arabs will acknowledge the Sherif of Mecca or the Sultan of Turkey as their Khalifa, or whether the Arab Government of Hedjaz, Mesopotamia and Palestine will be independent or under the suzerainty of the Khalifa, these will be decided by the Musalmans. We do not want non-Muslim advice and assistance.

A Congress-League Compact

In my opinion, gentlemen, the most pressing necessity of Hindustan is the immediate conclusion of a definite compact between the Congress and the League. The Congress should not enter into any negotiations with the Government concerning *Swaraj* (1) until the minimum Muslim demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied; (2) on the other hand, the Muslims should definitely bind themselves to the assurance that, even though their demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, the Musalmans of India will stand to the last by the side of their Hindu brethern for the attainment and preservation of Indian independence. Such a compact is all the more necessary because there are signs that the enemies of Indian independence—and we have to confess with regret that a number of deceitful Indians are working with the foreigners—are concentrating all their efforts on wrecking Hindu-Muslim unity and creating distrust and misunderstanding between the two communities. On the one hand, the Musalmans are being enticed by false hopes with regard to the Khilafat question. On the other, some showy toys of political concession are being prepared as a gift for the Hindus, even before the stipulated period of 10 years. It is intended that in their simplicity, the Musalmans should consider the return of Smyrna, etc., as the satisfaction of their Khilafat demands, and slacken their efforts for the attainment of *Swaraj*; while the Hindus should be misled into taking a further instalment of reforms for *Swaraj* itself, or at least, its precursor, and begin to consider the Khilafat an irrelevant question. There

can be only one solution for all these problems. Hindus and Musalmans, after mutual consultation, should have Indian independence declared by Mahatma Gandhi, so that in future the English may have no possibility of deceiving, nor India of being deceived. After the declaration of independence, the Congress and the League will have only one object left : that is the preservation of *Swaraj.* January 1, 1922, is the best date for the purpose, because we would thus have fulfilled the promise that we made to attain *Swaraj* within this year—and the people of India will achieve success in the eyes of God and man.

17

THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY*

The address of Mr. Bhurgri, the President of the All-India Muslim League, is a long speech in six sections, beginning with a note of hope that a more or less workable Turkish peace treaty is in sight. The address is divided into two parts, one dealing with the Turkish and the Khilafat questions, and the other with the internal affairs of India.

At the outset, Mr. Bhurgri paid a tribute to the founders of the Khilafat Committee in India and their successors in office, for the splendid services they had rendered to the cause of Islam. Reviewing the British attitude towards Muslims in regard to the Greco-Turkish conflict, he said, "Though the Musalmans have known no peace of mind ever since the Tripolitan war, they have never seen darker days than during the ministry of the ex-Premier Lloyd George, who had been, as he himself admitted, largely responsible for the Greek occupation of Smyrna. He could never see or learn the wisdom and necessity of stopping the butchery and devastation systematically carried on by the Greeks in Anatolia. He spurned the Muslim appeals for better understanding with Turkey, and all he could think was that 'the Mediterranean is vital to Britain; we want the friendship of the Greek people, a people whose friendship is vital to us. They will multiply and wax strong. They are a people of vital intelligence, of energy, and they have shown they have courage.' In support

* An indirect version of the Presidential address delivered by Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri at the Lucknow Session held on 31 March-1 April, 1923.

of Mr. Venizelos' theory of a Greek majority in Thrace and Smyrna, he did not hesitate to employ his argument of these being 'Greek Mohammedans', Musalmans by religion, but of Greek nationality who should be linked to Greece."

Mr. Bhurgri next mentioned how the sudden Turkish onslaught on Smyrna and Izmir gave rise to Mr. Lloyd George's memorable manifesto, whereby resentment against the Musalmans, in general, and the Turks, in particular, was sought to be created in Europe and the British Dominions. The manifesto, after alluding to the possibility of 'the entire loss of the whole results of the victory over Turkey in the late war' appealed for forces to guard the freedom of the Straits, and to prevent violent and hostile Turkish aggression.

The Draft Treaty

Continuing, Mr. Bhurgri said : "We in India hoped that with the disappearance of Mr. Lloyd George, Britain would turn a new leaf in its foreign policy towards Turkey. But the proceedings of the Lausanne Conference are not of a happy nature. It will only be to the good of England if she shows a friendly gesture to Turkey even at this eleventh hour. The draft treaty presented to the Turks is a sorry document. It still has most of the faults of the obnoxious Treaty of Sevres and the Turks cannot be expected to accept it. Though the question of boundaries has been more or less settled, the Capitulations, the Straits, the question of minorities, and the economic clauses are a stumbling block in the securing of real peace in the Near East. The Capitulations have been largely instrumental in arresting the progress and development of Turkey. Originally, they were concessions made by the free will and graciousness of the Turkish sovereigns. Now, however, they have assumed a dangerous shape. Though it is declared that the Capitulations are abolished in principle, yet what is substituted in their place in the draft treaty is no remedy for the miserable political and economic plight of Turkey. If in the Turkish demand for the complete abolition of the Capitulations, the attitude of Lord Curzon has been

hostile, it is not less so even with regard to the question of the Straits."

Question of the Straits

"Mr. Lloyd George was never tired of proclaiming British and world interests in the Straits of Dardanelles. And Lord Curzon, too, is proceeding with this question much in the same spirit. Let me at once say that no one would be against the permanent freedom of the Straits, but that is a very different thing from their strategical freedom. The dismantling of the fortifications (though already completed by the Allies) and the free movement of warships between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea would be a source of permanent danger to the Black Sea States, and we are not surprised at Russia's stout opposition to such a scheme. The economic freedom of the Straits, the Turks would gladly guarantee; and they have, in fact, throughout the entire past, scrupulously avoided restricting it even in times of national danger. To say that the Straits have an international character is really confusing the issue. If the proposition were carried to its logical conclusion, every waterway, big or small, has a more or less international character. After all, the English interest in the Straits of Dardanelles is of very small percentage compared to that of Rumania, Russia and other riparian Powers.

"If we pass on to the question of minorities, there are many questions awaiting a humanitarian solution; and one despairs of the prospect of permanent peace in the Near East. The salvation of these minorities lies not in floating them still further, nor in the creation of national home for them, nor in wringing out forced and unworkable guarantees for them—but in advising them to live peacefully with their neighbours. So long as they do believe that they have foreign protection, even when engaged in treason against their country—as they were during the last war—there would be no lasting peace in Turkey, and this question would always continue to crop up, as did the other questions before it, which were only settled by the successive diminution of Turkish possessions. If like

us, they are to have separate and communal representation in their Government, Turkey, I am sure, would not grudge granting it."

Continuing, Mr. Bhurgri said that since the days when Lord Kitchener was sent out to Egypt to preserve the neutrality of Egypt in the Turko-Italian War, the foreign policy of England towards Muslim countries represented an unsympathetic, and on some well-known occasions a hostile, attitude. If Muslim countries were weak to-day. Britain, in spite of the recent expansion of her dominions, was decidedly weaker. "Her prestige and moral weight are shaken in the East as they were never shaken before. In the Middle East, where English statesmen counted their greatest gain, there is the greatest loss, and the entire Middle East will sooner or later be lost to them."

British Activities in Mesopotamia

Referring to British activities in Mesopotamia, Mr. Bhurgri quoted Colonels Repington and Lawrence, and said that the Arabs rebelled against the Turks during the War not because the Turkish Government was notably bad, but because they wanted independence. They did not risk their lives in battle to become British subjects or French citizens. Promises of independence were made to the Arabs, though Mr. Churchill later on denied any promise of handing Mesopotamia back to the Arabs. "In regard to these problems in the Near East and Arabia", said Mr. Bhurgri, "the views of Turks, Arabs and Indians are wholly identical. All are only interested in securing the Arabs the right of self-determination and freedom from non-Muslim control. But will England consent to it? Speaking frankly, I do not yet see any sign of it. So we Musalmans must see these countries freed from the mandates which are crippling them, and must stand by these people in their struggle."

League of Oriental Nations

Mr. Bhurgri went on to say, "Signs are not wanting of such a federation of States—a real League of Nations—coming into being: Kabul, Tehran, and Angora have entered into a solemn pact of brotherhood. The people of the so-called mandated territories will join it the moment they come into their own. And the day Japan and China make up their differences, they, too, would come into the movement and be leading nations in the struggle. Some people think the idea of a League of Oriental Nations to be a dream; but when I notice the aggression of Europe against Asia and Africa, the behaviour of the White races towards the Coloured peoples, and the colour prejudice in some of the Western countries, I clearly see the early realizatio n of this dream. Asia for the Asians has already gained possession of the heart of this Continent, and so has Africa for the Africans; and silently—it may be slowly, the maker and unmaker of nations is working out His will. India's place is undoubtedly in that brothherhood; and I feel confident that it will one day, by reason of her size, population and resources, have a very honoured place in it."

In regard to the question of the Khalifa, Mr. Bhurgri said, "If the Angora Government ever comes to take a wrong step in religious matters, Musalmans themselves will not allow it to go unchallenged and uncontested . . the election of the Khalifa is in accordance with the best traditions of Islam, and it was by election that Muslims have had the best of the Khalifas. In addition to his election, the present Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen enjoys his exalted office by the free consent of the entire Muslim world. The deposition, and even the flight of ex-Sultan Wahiduddin, would have caused no comment, had it not been for the fact that, at the present moment, birds of the same feather have flocked in Hedjaz, and it has created an impression." Saying that apparently developments were afoot to 'transfer' the Khilafat to ex-Sherif Hussain at the time of the forthcoming Haj, Mr, Bhurgri added, "As the ex-Sherif and the ex-Khalifa are the proteges of England, I would be

failing in my duty if I did not utter a solemn warning against any such foolish and unpaying proceedings."

Indian Problems

The President next passed to problems currently confronting India. He said, "British rule in India has warked both for good and evil, and has had its due share of merits and demerits. In any case, it has come to stay, whether we regard it as a necessary evil or as a heavenly blessing. We cannot at present eradicate it without endangering our own existence—and let due notice be taken of this. But it is neither indelible nor eternal." Mr. Bhurgri laid the blame for this present tension of feeling in India at the door of short-sighted British statesmen in India and in England. Criticizing the policy of Government after the introduction of the reforms, he referred to the arrests of non-co-operators and "to the systematic persecution and torture of many of the political prisoners inside the jails, and to the inhuman treatment of them as common depraved felons, such as is unheard of in any other civilized country." He had a word of praise for the U.P. Government for granting amnesty to political prisoners. Mr. Bhurgri strongly condemned the appointment of the Services Commission; and next passed on to the Indianization of the Army and other Services. He said that India being a manpower country, in contrast to money-powered England, the former could not afford to imitate the latter's most expensive military organization.

Dealing with the question of Indians abroad, he said "our countrymen in Kenya are threatened with violence, and it is high time that we should devise ways and means of properly safeguarding their interests, person and property from the depradations of the 'white man's burden'. The root cause of the problem, however, lies, in my opinion, in the race-hatred of the white against the coloured, of Europe versus Asia.

Suggesting remedies for these evils, Mr. Bhurgri said,

"there are three things which the Government of India can and must do without any loss of time to achieve the desired end. These are:—(1) urging the appointment now, instead of after 10 years, as originally stipulated, of the Statutory Commission to examine the working of the Reformed Constitution, especially with reference to the following : (a) relation between Simla and Whitehall, (b) the extent and direction in which the Constitution should be amended so as to make the Government of India responsible in a greater degree to the people, and what powers should be developed further on the Central Legislature, (c) the demand for full provincial autonomy; (2) taking immediate definite steps to grapple with the most vexing questions of the day by formulating, in consultation with representatives of the people, substantial and genuine schemes and stages (a) for the Indianization of the Army and equipment for Indians in India, (b) for the Indianization of the Services, (c) for grant of complete fiscal autonomy, (d) for the abandonment of the present growing military burdens, (e) for safeguarding the interests and status of Indians abroad, (3) granting a general amnesty to many thousands of political prisoners who are now rotting in jails, either for their misguided zeal, or as innocent victims of repression and suppression."

Coming on to the question of the reformed Councils in the framework of a four-anna franchise Constitution, Mr. Bhurgri said, "I am convinced that the new Constitution affords a strong weapon in our hands, if only we could wield it by presenting a united front against the common menace of the wave of reactionism which is now passing through Simla and Whitehall. Further, these Councils provide ample opportunities and sure means of fostering Hindu-Muslim unity by handling all inter-communal and even national legislation and problems with care, consideration, sympathy and frequent consultations between the leaders of various communities for which the Councils afford the best meeting ground. The reformed Councils also afford the best available means for carrying out schemes of mass education, and a system of propaganda among, and education of, the electorate on the burning

topics of the day." In regard to communal representation, he said that it was an unavoidable evil to be used as necessary and to the minimum extent.

In conclusion, Mr. Bhurgri made a fervent appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity and religious toleration.

18

DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA*

Since 1920, owing to the most extraordinary and exceptional events which occurred one after the other starting with the passing of the Rowlatt Bill, tragedy of the Punjab and horrors of Amritsar, Treaty of Sevres and the Khilafat agitation, the policy and programme of Non-co-operation enunciated and formulated by Mahatma Gandhi was the order of the day. The League was not able and not willing to keep abreast with the movement started and first approved of at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress and confirmed by the Nagpur Session of December 1920, and had perforce, in view of a very powerful volume of public opinion that rallied round Mahatma Gandhi's policy and programme, to go into the background. Since the commencement of 1923, it was realised and admitted that the Triple Boycott was a failure, and that the Mass Civil Disobedience could not be undertaken successfully in the near future. Bardoli even was declared by Mahatma Gandhi as not ready for Mass Civil Disobedience; and even prior to his prosecution and conviction, Mahatma Gandhi had to resort to what is known as the Bardoli or Constructive Programme. Long before that the Triple Boycott of Law Courts, Schools and Colleges and Council had failed. The lawyers, barring few exceptions, did not pay much heed to Mahatma Gandhi's call and the students, after a first rush of an impulsive character, realised that it was a mistake. Gaya witnessed a struggle in the Congress Camp and Mr. Das finally laid the foundation of what has subsequently become and is now known as the Swaraj Party, favouring Council entry. Boy-

*Presidential address delivered by M.A. Jinnah at the Lahore Session (Fifteenth session of the League Continued) held on 24-25 May, 1924.

cott of Council as desired by Mahatma Gandhi was far from being effective or useful. Council seats in the country were filled up, the Khilafat organisation which was carried on on could not claim any better position and being the handmaid of the Indian National Congress, it pursued practically the same policy and programme and it succeeded no more or better in giving effect to the programme which it had set up for itself. The Swaraj Party eventually at the Special Session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi in September 1923, prevailed upon and obtained the verdict of the Indian National Congress to permit those who wished to enter the Legislature, to do so. Whatever may have been the resultant good or evil, I think you will agree with me that we must at this moment make use of the good and forget and discard the evil. It is in this spirit that I wish that we should proceed with our future work. Many mistakes have been made, blunders have been committed, great deal of harm has been done, but there has come out of it a great deal of good also. The result of the struggle of the last three years has this to our credit that there is an open movement for the achievement of Swaraj for India. There is a fearless and persistent demand that steps must be taken for the immediate establishment of Dominion Responsible Government in India. The ordinary man in the street has found his political consciousness and realised that self-respect and honour of the country demand that the Government of the country should not be in the hands of any one else except the people of the country.

But while that demand is a just one and the sentiment only natural and requires every encouragement, we must not forget that one essential requisite condition to achieve Swaraj is the political unity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans; for the advent of foreign rule and its continuance in India is primarily due to the fact that the people of India, particularly the Hindus and Muhammadans, are not united and do not sufficiently trust each other. The domination by the Bureaucracy will continue as long as the Hindus and Muhammadans do not come to a settlement. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the

Hindus and the Muhammadans are united. Swaraj is almost interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim unity. If we wish to be free people, let us unite, but if we wish to continue slaves of Bureaucracy, let us fight among ourselves and gratify petty vanity over petty matters, Englishmen being our arbiters.

Gentlemen, I quoted in my speech at the Muslim League Session in 1916 from the speech of Mr.Lloyd George which will, I think, bear repetition and if you will permit me, I will quote again. Mr. Lloyd George said : "He was convinced now that it was misunderstanding, partly racial, partly religious. It was to the interest of both to have it removed. But there seemed to have been some evil chance that frustrated every effort made for the achievement of better relations. He had tried once but did not succeed. But the fault was not entirely on one side. He had felt the whole time that they were moving in an atmosphere of nervous suspicion and distrust, pervasive and universal of everything and everybody. He was drenched with suspicion of Irishmen by Englishmen and of Englishmen by Irishmen and worse and most fatal of all, by the suspicion of Irishmen. It was quagmire of distrust which clogged the footsteps of progress. That was the real enemy of Ireland. If that could be slain, he believed, it would accomplish an act of reconciliation that would make Ireland greater and Britain greater and would make the United Kingdom and the Empire greater than they ever were before.

This quotation, gentlemen, applied to the situation in Ireland in 1916. They apply to India today if the words were transposed and instead of 'Irishmen' and 'Englishmen' you were to substitute 'Hindus' and 'Muhammadans'. But it applies no longer to Ireland. Ireland has since attained her freedom and we are still continuing our quarrels. It has for you who come here from all parts of India to devise ways and means and find a solution for the greatest enemy of India—the differences between the Hindus and Muhammadans. I have no doubt that if the Hindus and Muhammadans make a wholehearted and earnest effort, we shall be able to find a solution once more as we did at Lucknow in 1916. It is only then that

India, united and strong, will be able to really galvanise the British Parliament and the British Nation into action and force their hands to grant Dominion Responsible Government to India. In the case of Ireland and Egypt, mark how they have extorted their freedom from the hands of the British Parliament and the British Nation.

But while that is the main goal, upon which must be concentrated the best efforts, the energy and the intellect of the country, we must, in the meanwhile, promote, support and advance the commercial, industrial and agricultural progress and welfare in all their varied activities in the country and strive to get a sound system of finance and currency. We must take steps to organise labour in the country, industrial as well as agricultural, including royts and peasants, to bring about speedy improvement in their economic condition and protect their interests. We must enable them to take their place in their country's struggle for Swaraj. We must teach them to take their proper share in the constitution of Dominion Responsible Government of India. We must not lose any opportunity to promote and advance mass education so as to make the elementary education universal and thus dispel the ignorance and darkness and bring light to millions of our countrymen who cannot claim even three R's. We must take steps, if necessary, to see that elementary education is made compulsory. We should, as far as possible, organise and devise means for the purpose of encouraging and establishing Swadeshi industries and manufacture, promoting National Education, removing untouchability and encouraging settlement of disputes by arbitration. There are many other vital and important questions, administrative or otherwise, such as, Railway administration and its management and its finance, defence of India, Indianisation of and raising the National Army, Indianisation of Services, organising and instructing electorates, and supporting candidates for Legislatures, local or central, at the elections. All these questions can be dealt with partly by educative propaganda throughout the country and partly through and by means of existing Legislatures. While we unflinchingly and with all our might and main

support the demand for reforms, provided the rights and interests of the minorities in any existing scheme or in any scheme of advance will be duly protected and safeguarded, yet we cannot associate ourselves with any policy of deliberate and wanton wreckage or destruction. We ought to be prepared, if the Government do not make satisfactory response to the National demand for Reforms, as a last resort to make the Government by Legislature or through Legislature impossible and we should, if necessary, adopt for that purpose all means and measures to bring about parliamentary obstruction and constitutional deadlocks. But in the meantime, we must extract all the good we can from the Government by and through the Legislature by means of such limited powers and influence as is permitted to us to exercise within the scope of the Government of India Act, 1919, as it is constituted today.

The Khilafat question has for the moment, owing to the recent decisions of Angora Assembly under the guidance and leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha and Ismet Pasha, taken such a turn that no immediate solution can be suggested. But let us hope that a Congress of the Mussalmans of the world, which is in contemplation, will have, when it meets, in its midst all those most qualified and competent to speak on the question, and the united wisdom of those learned in the Law and Religion of Islam will find a solution of what at present appears to be one of the most amazingly complicated questions.

Then there remains the question of Swaraj. Thus the immediate issue between India and Great Britain of paramount magnitude and importance is the amendment of the constitution of the Government of India. The Assembly passed a resolution last February by the vote of 76 representatives against 48 recommending to the Governor-General in Council to take immediate steps to etablish full Responsible Government in India. The Government only showed its willingness to move by means of a departmental committee to inquire into the defects in the working of the Act of 1919 and further to inquire whether any advance should be made within the Rule-making power—but refused to commit itself with regard

to the necessity of amending the Act, except to rectify any administrative imperfection. So we ask for bread and the Government is offering us stone. Surely the position is so manifestly unjust and untenable that it cannot be maintained long. For, is it claimed that the question as to Provincial Autonomy to be granted to the Provinces and introduction of responsibility in the Central Government cannot be even considered until the expiration of ten years' period contemplated by the Act? Is it possible in view of the universal opinion throughout the country to the contrary to work the reforms such as they are without further advance until 1929? The Statute does not bar an inquiry being undertaken at any time as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of Responsible Government or to extend the degree of Responsible Government.

Is it possible, therefore, to allow the present position to continue? I feel that the situation is far too serious and I hope that the Government has already realised it and will not allow any further delay, which, in my opinion, would be dangerous, but meet the universal demand which is being voiced from a thousand platforms all over the country that immediate steps must be taken to scrap the present constitution and devise a constitution in consultation with the representatives of the people which will give them a real control and responsibility over their affairs and full scope for development of all their resources and enable them to stand as free people under the full-fledged Dominion Responsible Government amongst the ranks of the Nations of the world. This is the task before the All-India Muslim League and the country at large. I, therefore, earnestly appeal and pray to my countrymen to unite and organise all the resources of our country for the attainment of our immediate goal—that is, freedom for India.

19

NATIONAL UNITY AND SELF-RULE*

Fellow-members, ladies and gentlemen, let me tender you my most sincere thanks for the signal honour you have conferred upon me by asking me to perside over your deliberations. To be called upon to take this chair is an honour of which the occupant may always feel justly proud. The situation, which we have met to consider, however, is so overwhelmingly complicated that as I stand before you today, it is not so much the proud position to which you have raised me, great as it is, as the heavy responsibility which it imposes upon me that occupies my mind. When I recall the conditions under which the leaders of our community decided to hold the historic 1915 Session of the League in Bombay, pass in review the rapid developments witnessed by the League at Delhi in 1918, and at Amritsar in 1919, and compare the situation as it was at Ahmedabad in 1921 with the disruptive forces that are at work on all sides to-day, I feel unworthy of the great honour I have received at your hands. The sky is dark with clouds and the waves are beating high; and believe me I use no mere conventional language when I say that, instead of having an indifferent seaman like myself to assist you in this storm, I wish your boat were piloted by a mariner of the knowledge and experience of His Highness the Aga Khan or the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali. Perilous as the voyage is, I venture to make a start relying on your sympathy and support. And if our hearts are stout and our resolve unshakable, God will give us strength enough to get to the shore in safety.

---

* Presidential address delivered by Syed Riza Ali at the Bombay Session held on 30-31 December, 1924.

The short period that has elapsed since we met at Lahore last May, has witnessed many casualties in the ranks of distinguished Indians, Muslim and Hindu. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, the well-known Musalman philanthropist and baronet, is no more. He took an honourable share in many movements for the uplift of his cammunity, and has left a most worthy example to be followed by his wealthy co-religionists. His indefatigable industry and remarkable business capacity were rewarded with huge wealth, of which he made most laudable use. In his prosperity, he never forgot his less fortunate countrymen, and his princely benefactions have earned his memory the deep gratitude of his community and country. He has died in the fulness of years and honours, leaving a noble heritage for his illustrious sons.

You will no longer see the cheerful face of Shaikh Shahid Husain of Oudh, a prominent Muslim Leaguer from the United Provinces and a senior member of the Local Council. Almost the last public service he performed was the long journey to Lahore to attend the meetings of the League. Another old supporter of the League, borne down on the flood of existence, was Nawab Abdul Majid. He was ever ready to sopport a movement calculated to improve the condition of our community. Bi Amman was a unique figure in the arena of Indian politics. With piety and deep religious fervour, she combined a capacity for political work which was truly remarkable. The Khilafat movement brought her on the public platform, and those who have listened to her speeches—and she was by no means unfamiliar to Bombay—cannot forget the earnestness of her words, which produced a deep impression on her audiences. She was a practical social reformer, whose example, along with that of Mrs. Hasrat Mohani, has relaxed the rigour of the purdah system prevailing in northern India. We offer our sympathy to her distinguished sons, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohammad Ali, and other members of her family.

In Sir Asutosh Mukerji, the country has lost an eminent jurist, a most distinguished judge, and one of the foremost workers in the cause of higher education. The late Mr. Bhupen-

dra Nath Basu always exerted his influence for the extension of the field of self-government. The country and his own province would have greatly profited by his steadying influence in the Bengal Government had he been spared to us. Dr. Subramania Iyer was one of the pioneers of the Congress movement and did valuable political work before he was appointed a judge of the Madras High Court. He was one of the ablest judges of his day and officiated as Chief Justice several times.

Beyond our own country we mourn the loss of one who, though not of India, loved her with the patriotic fervour of an Indian. The roll of illustrious Englishmen who devoted themselves to the uplift of our country—Elphinstone, Munro, Canning, Ripon, Minto, Morley and Hardinge—entitles the British nation to look back with pride on the record of the achievements of these just and broad-minded men. But to Edwin Samuel Montagu history will assign a unique position. He came into power at a most critical time in the history of his country, and in a few weeks, was able to make the historic announcement of August 20 1917. It is true that the British people were well disposed towards Indian aspirations about this time, but how far they would have been actually prepared to go is an unknown factor. It is a matter of common knowledge now that had there been a less enthusiatic, less courageous and less skilful champion of our cause, the Government of India Act of 1919 would not have been passed in that year; and, what is more, when enacted, it would have been a much more illiberal and unsatisfactory statute than it is. Nor were his services to our religion less valuable. His influence in the Cabinet was on the wane towards the last 18 months of his office; but we must gratefully acknowledge that never did he cease to press the Indian Muslim view-point on His Majesty's Government. In the end, this ostensibly cost him his office, though the true causes were vastly different. The fact is that his opponents never forgave him for his whole-hearted, ardent and unremitting advocacy of the India cause. In their obituary comments, the press in England has called him 'a true friend of India'. While the description is accurate so far as

it goes, it is by no means a full description. Let Englishmen remember that a true friend of India as Mr. Montagu undoubtedly was, he was a truer friend of his own country. It has to be confessed with a heavy heart that in India owing to unforeseen causes, his services were not appraised at their true value while he was at Whitehall. Whether the country will perpetuate his memory, by raising statues in his honour, remains to be seen. But one thing, on your behalf as also mine, I can certainly say. Mr. Montagu's memory will be cherished in every patriotic Indian heart with undying gratitude and imperishable affection.

The English Political Parties

The subjects with which you would expect me to deal in this address are big, difficult and controversial. The last three years have seen three successive general elections in England. The Conservative party has come into power with a huge majority, and there is every likelihood of its remaining in power for the next five years. As a result of the study of the British party system, there had arisen in our countrymen a tendency, which became distinctly noticeable by the early eighties, to treat the Liberals as friendly and the Conservatives as hostile to Indian hopes and aspirations. The terms in which references were made to India by some distinguished Liberals were certainly more pleasing to us. The fact, however, remains that, judged by the test of results, it is extremely difficult to dogmatize that India owes more to one party than to another. The Act of 1892, which contained the germ of the elective principle in a microscopic form, was given to us by a Conservative Government. True, we received the somewhat liberal measure of reforms in 1909 from a Liberal Ministry. But it was not so much the sensitive conscience of Gladstone's followers as the strong personality of 'honest John', to which the lion's share of the credit must go. Things were greatly changed by 1918, under the shadow of the Great War; and there was a general disposition in England to recognize the valuable services that were being rendered by our country in every theatre of the war. Here again it is to be

noted that, in spite of the general goodwill prevalent towards us at that time, its practical manifestation would not have taken the form it actually did, but for the noble efforts of the late lamented Mr. Montagu. Further, the Government which introduced the Bill in 1919 was a coalition government, and it was only passed after an agreement had been arrived at, amongst all the political parties, to enact it in the shape given to it by the Joint Select Committee of both Houses, on which sat the representations of all schools of political thought. The record of the Labour Government is too fresh in our minds to be recalled. We concede that the Labour party was in office, not in power; even so, we cannot forget that it did not feel disposed to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of a further advance. In the light of these events, covering a period of more than 30 years, is it right, is it prudent, is it politic for us to identify ourselves with any one of the British parties, and thereby alienate the sympathies of the others? The attitude of those parties towards us may be a fact of which we should be ready to take note. But it would be a mistake to pin our faith to the traditions of any of them. In the past, we have suffered more from England's neglect of our country than perhaps from any other cause.

The India Office was known to be such a parochial place that it had no attraction for an English politician of the first rank. For a long time, our destinies used to be committed to the charge of indifferent politicians of the stamp of Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Brodric (now Lord Middleton)—with the possible exception of Lord Salisbury. Mr. Morley was the first politician of the front rank who chose the India Office for the scene of his labours. Under the Coalition Ministry, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, a distinguished Conservative, administered the Indian affairs at Whitehall; and brief though his tenure of office was, it was satisfactory in results. His championship of the Indian cause against Lancashire over the cotton excise duties, and his initiation of a scheme of political reforms shortly before his resignation, are gratefully remembered in India. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from these premises. While we canno: :e indifferent

to the rise and fall of the political parties in England, experience shows that the presence of mediocre politicians at the India Office has proved infinitely more injurious to our interests than the pressure brought to bear upon any Government in Parliament by a number of members interested in frustrating India's onward march. We should therefore welcome Lord Birkenhead, one of the most brilliant men of the Conservative party, as the Secretary of State for India. In 1907, Morley described him as "a very clever Tory lawyer, rising hope of his party and not at all a bad fellow". To indulge in political prophecies is futile. But I venture to say that if, instead of trying to wrest anything from him by threats of civil disobedience, we settle down to constructive work, the future may not be as barren of results as it looks to-day.

A Common Programme for Different Approaches to Swaraj

One cannot be too careful in surveying the events of the past 18 months. Momentous decisions have been taken by the Government and by important political parties of our country. Strife has raised its head to set community against community. The repetition of flamboyant platitudes from numerous platforms has made confusion worse confounded. What is wanted is an accurate description of the situation without any attempt to exaggerate or to minimize. The collapse of the non-co-operation movement has been followed by consequences which its promoters did not and could not foresee. Not only have communal disturbances brought to the surface the inner working of the minds of considerable sections of the population, but the leaders of public opinion, divided into a number of parties, have been unable to secure unanimity for a common programme to be put before the country. According to some, India can only attain her political emancipation through the spinning wheel. Others believe that it will come by stopping the working of the machinery set up by the Government of India Act. Then others take the view that the best method is to work or stop the machinery as it may suit us. Again, others are convinced that true wisdom lies in working it, such as it is, to the best of our ability. In addition to these,

there are minor political groups, too numerous to mention. All this reminds me of what a writer said about the Spanish character some years ago. He said that if seven Spaniards were to form a political association, it would soon split into three with one independent. It is to be recognized that we are passing through a period of transition, and some of our difficulties are inherent in the situation. No sane man can object to the existence of political parties with a definite, workable programme in these go-ahead times. But if they are to work in co-operation with one another, they must have something in common in their programme. And I ask: is their nothing on which all parties are agreed? Is there any party worth the name that has not set before itself the goal of *Swaraj* or self-government? Hardly ever during the last 100 years was there a matter on which public opinion declared itself half so strongly or unanimously as it has on this question. To us it is the question of questions and the problem of problems. The differences, important though they at times may be, between race and race, creed and creed, class and class, are at once overshadowed by this overpowering manifestation of India's will. And yet the irony of fate is that so far we have been unable to separate the essential from the accidental, the changing from the immutable. The display of energy an our part is prodigious. Compared with its volume, however, the effect must continue to be disappointingly small, so long as we do not make up our mind to distinguish matters of principle from matters of procedure. For, except methods to be pursued, procedure to be followed, there is no vital difference between the No-changer and the Liberal, the obstructionist Swarajist and the Independent. After all, non-co-operation in its broadest and most orthodox form, obstruction with its varying moods, and constitutional agitation with its somewhat cheerless prospects, are only a means to the end, and not the end in itself. Our end is the attainment of *Swaraj*. Prudence and experience point to the absolute necessity of the various political parties drawing up, by common agreement, a national programme which can be worked by all. It need not be a very elaborate scheme. The fewer the points on which concerted action is to be taken, the greater will be the facility in working it out. But

two conditions ought not be transgressed. In the first place, the programme should not ignore stern realities. Secondly, the methods to be employed should be practical. This would leave every party free to act as it likes with regard to the measures not included in the national programme. Objections, some of them of a weighty character, can be urged against this proposal. It may be said that in the absence of a fusion of parties, their meeting together for a particular purpose will deprive them of that enthusiasm, vigour, complete understanding and mutual confidence which are the life-blood of a political organization. I must regretfully confess that, in the absence of any willingness in the existing parties to modify their political creeds, I have no better solution to offer.

Constitutional Progress

The circumstances under which the Government of India Act was passed in 1919 need not be recounted. There was a serious split in the political parties of the country over the Scheme of Reforms. The Bill, though improved by the Joint Select Committee, failed to give satisfaction. One party openly rejected it in toto. The other party, though fully alive to its imperfections, decided to give it a trial, reserving to itself the right to seek its revision at the earliest possible opportunity. In September 1921, the Legislative Assembly, a body which, in the words of Sir William Vincent, had 'done much to justify the demand,' gave expression to the views of those who had decided to co-operate with the Government, by demanding the transfer, from the beginning of 1924, of all subjects to the control of the ministers in the provinces, the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government with regard to all matters, except Army, Navy, Foreign and Political Departments, and in 1930 the grant of full Dominion self-government. A long and lively discussion followed, in which three members of the Executive Council participated; and ultimately the resolution, amended as below, was passed with the consent of the Government members headed by Sir William Vincent : "That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he should convey to the

Secretary of State for India the view of this Assembly that the progress made by India on the path of responsible government warrants a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1929."

In fact, about that time, it was not seriously disputed in official circles that, given tranquility and a somewhat longer experience of the working of the constitution, its revision would be undertaken. The first speech addressed by Lord Reading to the Indian Legislature, after his assumption of his high office, pointed in the same direction. On September 3, 1921, His Excellency said: I "know that you are sitting here under a constitution which has never been presented otherwise than for the purposes of the transitional stage. There are resolutions that will come before you during the sittings of your Assembly urging your advance along the road of constitutional progress. I am carefully watching and studying the working of this new machinery, and I am satisfied that, in the short time in which it has already existed, you have not yet sufficiently tested its perfections, if you are ready to admit that it has any, also its imperfections, which no doubt you have already to some extent discovered. It is a human machine with human imperfections. I am prone to the caution of age and, therefore, *will wait until I have had a little more opportunity of judging before I pronounce my conclusions*."

By this time Lord Reading has had ample experience of the working of the constitution. The evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee has aroused the greatest interest in its labours. It is unfortunate that the leader of the *Swaraj* party in the Assembly was unable to accept the Government's invitation to serve on the Committee. Its report has been submitted and is anxiously awaited by the public. The news that it is not unanimous, and that the Committee is almost evenly divided on vital issues is sufficiently dispiriting. But the ambiguous language used by Lord Reading in a recent speech, at the annual dinner of the European Association at Calcutta, has created general disappointment. His Excellency

seems to have been considerably impressed by the complications, and perplexities of the present situations. His complaint that many Indian politicians and leaders of thought have withheld that measure of co-operation which the authors of the Government of India Act expected to receive, cannot be easily refuted. But is it not a fact that the halting, hesitating provisions of the Act are themselves responsible to no small extent for this result? I am not one of those who think that the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme was unworthy of England to give or of India to receive. It marked a considerable advance upon the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. In fact, the problem with which the Government of India and His Majesty's Government are faced to-day is nothing as compared with the momentous issue decided in 1919. For, whereas in that year the greatest and most important question of principle with regard to the goal of British policy in India was settled, the sole issue that arises at present is whether it is not expedient to enter upon the second stage of the journey.

With great respect to Lord Reading, I venture to point out that nobody has proposed the adoption of a new policy to His Majesty's Government. The policy is there, clearly enunciated in the preamble to the Act. What is advocated is merely a quickening of the pace; and the strongest argument in support of it is that in the midst of the deplorable dissensions that have of late divided community from community, creed, from creed, and class from class, all the warring elements are agreed as to the supreme necessity of an onward move. A still more significant feature is that though the failure of the non-co-operation movement has in other respects, brought reaction in its train, it has not in any way affected the desire for political emancipation. If anything, it has made the desire more acute than it was ever before. The talk of the Congress constitution being interpreted in such a way as to include breaking away from the British Empire, is no more than a counsel of despair. Similarly, the increase of political crime in Bengal marks the mad despair of the rising youth with the present constitution. It is urged that those who believe in the cult of the bomb and the pistol have not declared that their goal is *Swaraj.* They

ed to anarchy and violent crime Whatever you may think of the measure itself, I have no doubt that you emphatically condemn any campaign for the destruction of home, life and property. Those engaged in it do not, unfortunately, realize the great disservice they are doing to the cause of Indian liberty. No government can afford to be indifferent to the spread of anarchical forces. If a Swarajist government were confronted with a similar situation, its clearest duty would be to deal with the enemies of the public peace. It is my firm belief that manifestations of intellectual distemper are a great danger in the path of our future progress, and that insidious and corrupting influences are the real enemies of our motherland. Government, in my judgment, are entitled to our support in all reasonable measures they take to meet the situation.

This brings me to an examination of the action recently taken by the Government of Bengal and the Governor-General. Regulation III of 1818 was made at a time when there was little peace or security in the land. Ambitious chieftains were carving up the remains of the Mughal Empire to provide principalities for themselves; adventurous spirits allied themselves with the rising British power and espoused the cause of its rivals by turns, and the resultant confusion was so threatening to the maintenance and consolidation of British rule that the semi-military situation rendered the promulgation of the Ordinance inevitable. Where, it may pertinently be asked, is the justification for allowing this archaic Regulation, thoroughly inconsistent with the spirit of the modern times, to remain on our statute-book? Its continuance becomes more unjustifiable in view of the provisions of Section 72 of the Government of India Act, which vests the Governor-General with ample power to deal with emergencies. The Committee appointed to report on repressive laws in 1921 recommended its repeal. Though the Government were unable to agree, the recommendation has received very strong support from the public. Even if the Government cannot see their way to its total extinction, the advisability of its substitution by a piece of legislation, more consonant with the spirit of the constitu-

tion, to be passed with the concurrence of the Indian Legislature, should be undertaken at an early date. In Bengal, not only was action taken under the Ordinance, but the Government of that Province simultaneously proceeded to act under the Regulation. Be it noted that the chief executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation and the two Swarajist members of the Legislative Council were arrested under the Regulation. If the claim that the Ordinance does not substitute the will of the executive for the determination of important issues by trained judges is held to be valid, it follows that there was no evidence worth the name against the victims of the Regulation; or the Bengal Government would not have hesitated to submit such evidence to scrutiny by the judges to be appointed under Section 19 of the Ordinance. As one who is sincerely anxious to be fair to the authorities, I must say that no case has been made out for the Bengal Government in connection with their action under the Regulation.

The case of the Ordinance stands on a somewhat different footing. It cannot be said here that the Government have been actuated by a desire to burke all judicial enquiry. The Ordinance sets up special tribunals, introduces a different set of procedure and curtails and, in some cases, takes away the right of His Majesty's subjects to the protection of the highest court of law in the land, the High Court. All these are encroachments on some of the most cherished and elementary rights of the subject. The greatest objection to the promulgation of extraordinary measures is that they afford an irresistible temptation to the executive to resort to summary methods and avoid going to the regular courts of law. Furthermore, the fact that, in the numerous searches made so suddenly and almost simultaneously in various districts in Bengal, no arms and ammunition are reported to have been discovered, lends weight to the objection of the critics. On the other hand, speaking for myself, I can say that it is extremely difficult to brush aside as unreliable all the evidence on which Lord Lytton felt himself justified in asking for the promulgation of, and Lord Reading, on carefully examining it, agreed to framing the Ordinance. It is possible, though by no means

probable, that Lord Lytton, who as the Under-Secretary of State for India, was known to be in sympathy with Indian aspirations, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, who was a prominent member of the Liberal party and the Labour Secretary of State, were all seized with panic. The fact, however, remains that the Government, while pointing to the record of crimes, declare that they were unable to cope with the situation with the help of the ordinary law. It is unfortunate that, from the nature of the case, it is not possible for the Government to disclose the evidence and satisfy the public mind about the activities of each individual. While, therefore, I am unable to say that there was no justification for Lord Reading to exercise his extraordinary powers, I am convinced that the Ordinance goes too far. It gives the local government excessive powers and does not sufficiently safeguard the rights of the individual affected. This is no place for entering upon an exhaustive discussion; but the qualifications of the commissioners and the judges, the authority by which they are to be appointed, the committing to custody in jail of a suspect against whom preventive action may be taken, and the option to the local government to accept or reject the report made by the judges on a careful scrutiny of a suspects case, are, among others, some of its obviously objectionable features.

Indians and the Army

Many are the steps India has to take before she gets to her appointed goal of *Swaraj*. In no direction, however, is her equipment less satisfactory than in the matter of defence. In a remarkable speech in the Legislative Assembly, Sir William Vincent said : "If I had been a non-official member of this Assembly, the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon the Government would have been the development of an Indian Army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of this country." For, in spite of the grant of King's Commissions to our countrymen on a very limited scale, what is our position in the Army? We are admitted into the other ranks of

the cavalry, infantry, pioneers, sappers and miners. But the door to the tank corps and armoured car companies is still closed upon us. In the artillery, we are not admitted as gunners in the Royal Horse Artillery, field artillery or in the medium artillery. We are allowed admission as gunners only in the Pack Artillery, in the Frontier Garrison Artillery and in the Indian Coast Artillery. We are conspicuous by our absence as officers in the headquarters or in the staff of commands. We are not eligible to any King's Commissions in the ancillary services such as supply and transport, medical, vaterinary, ordinance and clothing, remounts, military training and educational. Our continued exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the artillery, air force, and other branches of the Fighting Services is a sad commentary on the spirit in which the Government of India Act, 1919, is being interpreted and enforced. The non-regular forces are made up of the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force. The former is for the benefit of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, while the latter consists of Indians only. Here again, it is impossible to overlook the distinction that while the Auxiliary Force has most of the arms of the regular army, the Territorial Force has one arm only, namely the Infantry. The Auxiliary Force may aspire to having some of its members selected for King's Commissions; not so the members of the Territorial Force, who must remain content with Viceroy's Commissions. This description, brief as it is, will bring home to every patriotic Indian the sense of our helplessness. It is urged that the process of making an efficient officer is long and laborious. While we fully appreciate the force of this criticism—though it may be parenthetically remarked that we are not responsible for our exclusion from the higher posts—it is obvious that the present rate of progress will take several centuries before the Army is completely officered by Indians. A little more courage, and a little less of caution, on the Government's part is the only practicable solution of the problem.

The Lee Commission Report

Not much need be said about the Lee Commission's

Report. The circumstances under which the Commission came to be appointed are too fresh in your mind to be recapitulated. In consequence of the action taken by the Secretary of State, the Report has passed beyond the region of controversy and has become a *fait accompli.* It is unfortunate that, owing to the existing political tension, the many important issues arising out of its recommendations were not discussed on their merits. My personal view is that while it was, and will always be, our duty to remove the legitimate grievances of the Services, Imperial and Provincial, nothing should be done to impede the process of steady Indianization. It is also my considered view that the claim of our countrymen to receive emoluments on the same scale as are allowed in the case of Europeans is wholly untenable.

Before leaving the subject it seems advisable to make a few observations on the personnel of the Indian Civil Service. That Service has had a glorious past, and will, in the future, also have enormous powers for good and evil. As an Indian I rejoice that the element of my countrymen in it is steadily on the increase. But I feel that if the Service is to keep up its efficiency, it is absolutely necessary that it should not consist only of those classes that have acquired an aptitude for passing examinations. The time at my disposal will not allow me to enter upon the larger question of how far competitive examinations are an unmixed blessing. There is a sharp difference of view on the subject among competent authorities. Twelve years ago, writing about the success of the men trained at Haileybury, Sir Mortimer Durand said: "It was a short-lived institution, lasting only from 1809 to 1857, but it produced some great administrators, and to this day there is some doubt whether the civilians afterwards chosen by open competition have proved equal to the Haileybury men."

Sir Alfred Lyall, who had considerable experience of both systems, expressed his opinion thus: "My great objection to the competition of civilians is that they are too like clever office men at home, very good at writing precis, and accurate in their legal functions, but without sympathy for the people whom they govern, a .. only liking the respectable educated

native." In his book, *The Indian Polity*, Chesney, a close observer of the administrative system in India, says: "As to the success of this measure (the competitive system), it has beyond doubt fallen short of the expectations formed of it by the first supporters of the principle of competition—so far that it had entirely failed to attract to the Indian Service all the rising talent of the country." One thing, however, is clear enough. Independently of the considerations urged by the Muslim community in support of its claim, which must strike all impartial observers as just and strong, it is neither in the public interest, nor conducive to efficiency, that the huge administrative machinery of the Government should be run by a particular class. It is significant that no Musalman has yet been appointed to the Indian Civil Service as a result of the supplementary examination held in India. At the same time, the number of successful Muslim candidates in England is so small as to be almost negligible. It is high time to take steps to do justice to the Musalmans. They may not be adepts in the art of passing examinations, but it is agreed, on all hands, that they make excellent administrators. I would call attention to the manner in which the Government of the United Provinces has solved the problem. Every year it fills a certain number of posts in the executive branch of its Provincial Service by holding a competitive examination. There is only one examination, but the successful candidates are placed in two lists, one Muslim and the other non-Muslim. As many men from each list are selected in order of merit as there may be vacancies available for the community concerned, provided that no candidate is chosen unless he has secured a minimum number of marks. The system, though by no means perfect, is yet the best that can be devised, looking to the peculiar conditions obtaining in India. I earnestly appeal to the authorities in England, the Government of India, and various provincial governments, to examine and adopt it for making appointments to the Services under them.

Military Expenditure

There are so many other matters that require a careful

consideration. The alarming growth of military expenditure is closely bound up with the question of defence. Public opinion is fully alive to the importance of keeping our forces in a state of high efficiency. He is no lover of his country who will risk foreign aggression by unduly cutting down the expenditure (on the forces) or reducing their number. But it would be equally wrong not to cut our coat according to our cloth. As the military budget is not put to the vote of the Assembly, it is all the more necessary to keep a watchful eye upon it.

Industrial Development

In the past our industrial development had been sorely neglected. A change, a very welcome change indeed, has been of late discernible in the policy of the Government. The country also welcomes the attitude adopted by the *Swarajist* party in the Legislative Assembly, and their co-operation with the Government, in passing the Steel Industry Protection Bill last June. Vastly more, however, remains to be done. The coal industry has fallen on evil days, and is unable to meet foreign competition in our own market. The paper industry has a sad tale to tell. The needs of the Indian merchant shipping are crying. Our currency and exchange problems are awaiting solution. There is work, yes ample work, for all who have an inclination to do it. Let us not forget that *Swaraj* will not come to us in a day. It cannot be that we will wake up one fine morning to find it knocking at our doors. If India is to attain *Swaraj* in the near future, her vast population, regardless of creed and caste, must set to work at once. Time and tide wait for nobody. Is it reasonable to expect that there will be a change in the laws of nature for our sake? Let us dispassionately consider the advice recently given to us by that true friend of our country, Colonel Wedgwood. He pathetically remarks: "If Labour has done nothing far India during the past year, neither has India helped her own case." This is the advice given to us by a man who is suspected of harbouring such revolutionary intentions with respect to the future progress of our

hands of Ibne Saud. We are grateful that His Majesty's Government refused to be drawn into this domestic struggle, and did not depart from the path of neutrality.

The execution of Moulvi Niamatullah Khan at Kabul raises a question of more than temporary interest to our fellow-religionists. With the political activities, if any, of this gentleman we are not concerned. Had he been tried for and found guilty of a political offence against the State, it would have been a matter exclusively between him and the Afghan Government. But the judgment, the full text of which was published in the press, shows that on some matters of belief, his opinions were held to be inconsistent with the generally prevalent beliefs of the orthodox Muslim faith. And it is this aspect of the question which cannot be viewed with unconcern by Indian Musalmans. Without going into the merits of a delicate ecclesiastical controversy, for which I do not feel myself competent, I must say that no Muslim state is justified in countenancing a movement for taking the lives of its subjects, natural born or domiciled, in order to save their souls. If once the idea gets abroad that Muslim Governments are not prepared to allow full religious liberty to their subjects, it will weaken the world position of Islam as a great moral force.

Of late, developments of considerable importance have taken place in some Muslim countries. If I refrain from noticing them here, it is, of course, due to no lack of sympathy with our co-religionists abroad. We know our duty to our brethren in faith, be they Turkish, Afghan, Persian, Egyptian, Moroccan or of other nationalities, and have never been lukewarm, consistently with our position, in discharging it. But there is a higher duty that we owe to ourselves and to our country. The questions that occupied our minds during the last 10 years were of an exceptional nature, inasmuch as they directly affected some of the most highly cherished tenets of our faith. But now that the Turkish problem has been solved to our satisfaction, and the Khilafat question has been recognized as a domestic affair to be settled by the Muslim world,

I strongly feel that we would be less than just to ourselves if, instead of devoting our time and energy to internal problems of our motherland, we still allowed ourselves to be distracted by what was going on in distant lands. Extra-territorial patriotism is a most noble and inspiring sentiment if kept within reasonable bounds. But the moment it interferes with the discharge of our duties or the exercise of our rights as Indian Musalmans, it becomes a fruitless pursuit, a profitless devotion to a chimera.

The League's Temporary Inactivity

Complaints, frequent complaints, have been made against the inactivity of the League. Some critics have gone to the length of saying that to all practical intents and purposes it is dead. The criticism shows a lack of appreciation of the magnitude of the Khilafat and Turkish problems which till recently had thrown all other activities into the background. It was the Khilafat Committee that was looking after these problems, and the League obviously could not tackle internal questions without coming into conflict with that body. Whatever mistakes our fellow-religionists may have made, it must be said to their credit that they concentrated all their energy and efforts on a satisfactory settlement of the post-war question in western Asia, which was inextricably blended with the dictates of our religion. With these considerations staring us in the face, can any Musalman justly blame the League for its past attitude? By launching on a policy of masterly inactivity for a time, it has served the best interests of our community and our holy religion.

Moreover, since the days of the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the community has stoutly set its face against allowing itself to be grouped into rival parties. As a minority, we have enough of our troubles. With a split in the camp we shall no longer be able to present a united front on matters affecting the vital interests of our community. Hitherto, we have been able to prevent a split in the League. Not that all the Musalmans think exactly alike on all political questions. But its elastic constitution has served to keep the process of secession

in check. Whether, in this position, the gain outweighs the loss or the loss outweighs the gain, it is for you to consider. But to a careful observer, the loss is more apparent in action, in results, in constructive work; while the gain is shown more clearly in our escape from disintegration and division To avoid future friction, I would suggest a division of labour. I believe that if the Khilafat Committee looks after our religious interests and the League confines itself to internal questions, both bodies will find ample scope for the display of their energies.

Congress-League Relations

From the very start the League has had to face misrepresentations from one quarter or another. You will perhaps remember that when its establishment was decided upon at Dacca, in the last week of December 1906, under the guidance of such far-sighted leaders of the Muslim community as the silver-tongued Mohsin-ul-Mulk and the strong-willed Viqar-ul-Mulk, assisted by Nawab Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca—none of whom, alas, is in the land of the living to-day—, the London *Times* jubilantly pointed out that the coming into being of a strong Muslim political organization would not make for peace in India. Fortunately the League has belied this prophecy. The second stage of misrepresentation arrived in 1915, when a section of our own community thought that in holding the session for the first time in its life at Bombay side by side with the Congress session, our object was to play second fiddle to the Congress. Fellow-members, we have outlived this criticism as well. And now towards the end of 1924, we are entering upon the third stage. A cry has been raised that in holding League session at Bombay we are trying to separate the Musalmans from the Hindus. Let me assure our critics on your behalf that the latest accusation is as much without foundation as the two that had preceded it. The record of the public work of those who are responsible for holding the League session at Bombay—and amongst them I would especially mention my friend Mr. M A. Jinnah, a consistently selfless worker in the cause of India's emancipation—is a complete answer to the charge. We have our duties to

the community as well as to the country. The change in circumstance since 1915, when the Congress stood undivided, is an important factor to which I would call our critics' attention. We are willing and ready to give to the Congress that measure of co operation and support which is reasonably possible under the altered conditions. And this we have already done by arranging the dates in such a manner that those belonging to one body may be able to attend the meetings of the other But those who believe that nearness in space alone can mean unity of aim and action certainly assume too much. If the two bodies are not agreed about their methods of work, they will be separate, be they ever so near each other. While we shall do our utmost to help in bringing about an atmosphere in which all parties, irrespective of caste and creed, may be able to join hands with the Congress to push on the cause of Indian liberty, we would be retarding political progress, not only of our own community, but of the country as a whole, if we allowed the League to be merged in the Congress. And here I cannot resist the temptation of placing before you a proposal which, if accepted, may altogether do away with the necessity of both dodies having their annual sessions in the same place. If the League, or its Council, every year elects about 10 or 12 of its members to formally represent the Muslim Community in the Congress, and if the rules of the latter body are so changed as to recognize their character as your accredited representatives, I believe a great many of the difficulties will disappear. In case this proposal commends itself to you, your representatives will be in a position to throw light, from the Muslim point of view, on such questions as may come up before the Congress Whether it can usefully be adopted for some time to come, it is for you and the community to judge.

Communal Disturbances

The events of the last six years are too well known to be mentioned here. The whole country has passed through a severe trial, but the ordeal undergone by our community was more exacting and provoking than that of the rest of the

Indian population. Is there a Musalman in this assembly, or outside it, who did not feel the deepest mortification and humiliation at the terms of the Treaty of Severes, which practically annihilated the independence of the foremost Muslim power in the world? I must greatefully acknowledge in your name that it was the sympathy and support of our non-Muslim fellow countrymen that greatly strengthened our hands throughout that struggle. The way for bringing both great communities together had already been paved by the unfortunate martial law regime in the Punjab, whose common hardships and indignities created a sort of comradeship between the Hindu and the Muslim. But there is hardly any unmixed blessing in this world. Out of this unstable fellowship was born the non-co-operation movement, the full effects of which we have yet to see. Its huge structure was not based on the solid foundation of a carefully considered plan. The blunders of the Imperial and Local Governments in the Punjab, and of His Majesty's Government in connection with the post-war settlement, coupled with disappointment at the nature of the reforms then under discussion, served as the foundation of this edifice. Because in a mood of deep resentment, both communities had persuaded themselves that they would treat their differences as non-existent, it was taken for granted that those differences had been removed for good.

To cure the evil is good, but to prevent it is better. What are we to do now to restore harmony between the two great communities? Fellow members, let me tell you that, serious as the situation is, it would be cowardice on our part to wring our hands in despair. Are we going to permit ourselves to be deflected from our cause? If we do, we will be false not only to ourselves, but to countless generations yet unborn. And what verdict will history pass on those who are never tired of preaching that Hindu-Muslim unity is an impossibility? I shudder to think of that verdict. Pray do not consider that I am minimizing the enormous obstacles and the prodigious impediments with which our path is beset. But will the descendants of the great Arabs, in whose path neither sea nor mountain was a barrier, and the followers of a religion which

came into the world to cement distant countries with bonds of universal brotherhood, get terrified by the ghost of Hindu-Muslim strife? No, and a most emphatic no. The days of the ill-fated Hijarat are over, let me hope never to return. India is as much our motherland as that of the descendent of the illustrious Brahmans of the Sacred Vedic age If the flames of internal dissensions are not to envelop and consume both communities, they must find means to live in peace. I know that feelings are running high on both sides. Let us at once address ourselves to removing the tension. And in this connection, I cannot help saying a word about the mentality of a certain type of educated man. Fellow-members, it is so easy to put the blame on the ignorant masses. But can we honestly say that he (the educated man) is wholly free from guilt? The calculating politician does not, as a rule, strike the match. Perhaps he is hundreds of miles away when the explosion actually takes place. But are you quite sure that he does not help in the process of making the material more inflammable? He is the leader of the helpless masses in the sense that he knows, when it suits his purpose, how to put them on the wrong path.

The Shuddhi[1] *and Sangathan*[2] *Movements*

No sane man can question the right of the followers of any creed to extend its sphere by all legitimate and proper means. But it is open to serious question whether the *Shuddhi* movement was not launched at a highly inopportune time, and whether the methods employed were not of a questionable character. Had it not been for the existing communal tension, I would certainly have considered it necessary to say more about it. As it is, I would draw the earnest attention of its authors to a re-examination of their position in the light of the recent occurrences; and would appeal to them not to

1. Literally it means purification—a movement to convert or reconvert non-Hindus to Hinduism.

2 It was a movement aimed at developing greater unity and organization among the various orders of Hinduism.

hesitate in abandoning or relaxing their efforts, if they find that their past activities have operated to aggravate communal dissensions. The *Sangathan* movement suffers from bad fellowship. Had it not been a twin sister of the *Shuddhi* propaganda, there was much in it that would have appealed to patriotic Indians. Perhaps it is not yet too late to rescue it from the jaws of the *Shuddhi* movement. If the better mind of the country wishes to direct the energies of the members of the *Sangathan* into anything like useful channels, I agree with Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, the illustrious leader of the *Swaraj* party, that its membership should not be confined to one community, but that both Hindus and Musalmans should be its members. In my judgment, however, it would be more advisable to drop it till communal relations are placed on a more solid and harmonious footing. The justification for the continuance of the *Tanzim*[1] would automatically vanish with the disappearance of the *Sangathan*.

Mahatma Gandhi

Fellow-members, amidst the din of discord and dissension, there is one great unifying influence of which the country ought to take the fullest advantage. And that is the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, who, after an enforced absence of nearly two years, was restored to us in the beginning of this year. While I have been unable to see my way to agree with him on some questions of the highest importance, even though I have deemed it my duty to publicly oppose him on those points, every patriotic Indian will readily acknowledge that he has done more than any other Indian to waken in India's teeming millions that sense of nationalism which will, God willing, grow with the growth of years and will not rest contented till India comes into her own as an absolutely equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Time is not yet to appraise this great man's services at their true value Take, for instance, the question of a common language. It was he who realized

1. It was Muslim counterpart of the Hindu *Sangathan* movement and aimed at religious organization and unity.

that a common language is a potent factor in bringing about nationalism. *His choice has fallen on Hindustani or Urdu,* and the best sense of the country endorses his choice. The same may be said of the importance he attaches to the removal of untouchability. I need not weary you with other instances of his far-sightedness. But perhaps his greatest service to the country consists of the ceaseless, unflinching, whole-hearted and most sincere efforts he has made to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Kohat Question

If, therefore, I take the liberty of disagreeing with him on the Kohat question, I do so with the greatest regret. It is not my purpose to apportion blame, nor do I propose to discuss how the trouble started and what tremendous proportions it assumed. But as one who, as a member of the Frontier Enquiry Committee in 1922, came into direct contact with the people of the Province, and had opportunities of seeing Kohat and its people, I feel I must say that the sufferings and privations of the Hindu population whom Mr. Gandhi met at Rawalpindi, without having an opportunity of acquainting himself with the version of the Kohat Muslims, have influenced his mind so much that he is unable to form a correct estimate of the action of the authorities or the attitude of the Musalmans. Believe me, nowhere in British India have I found a body of officials, both European and Indian, more anxious to promote the welfare of the people committed to their charge.

Nor should I be unjust to the much abused Pathan, whose strong arm stands between the Hindu and the ferocious and fanatical trans-frontier tribesman. The status of *hamsaya*(neighbour) gives the Hindu important privileges, the full extent of which is known only to those acquainted with the rough conditions of life obtaining in the Frontier Province. The Hindus living in the zone especially liable to raids from the tribesmen are, as a rule, the *hamsaya* of some Khan (Pathan Chief); and according to the immemorial code of honour, the

institution imposes on him the duty of protecting the Hindu population at the sacrifice of his own life and the lives of his followers. The minority as well as the majority report of the Enquiry Committee bears eloquent testimony to the manner in which this duty is performed. And be it noted that if, on any rare occasion, any Khan displays lukewarmness in affording adequate protection to his *hamsaya*, the British official is never slow to put in force the provisions of the Frontier Crimes Regulation in the interest of the Hindu population. The civil authorities make use of the Regulation on such a large scale that loud were the complaints made by a number of the Khans and Pathans who appeared as witnesses before the Enquiry Committee against, what they said, was an unwarranted use of its provisions. I may further state that it was in the interest of the Hindus that the majority report of the Frontier Committee, signed by all the Musalman members, purposely abstained from recommending its repeal.

For Mr. Gandhi to advise the Hindus to refuse to return to Kohat till the Musalmans assure them that their lives and property will be safe is advice the soundness of which is open to serious question. It was not the Musalmans who expelled the Hindus from Kohat; the evacuation took place, according to the Government of India's Resolution dated December 9, 1924, "at the earnest entreaty of the Hindus themselves". Nor has their return been ever opposed by the Musalmans. The Pathans and their chiefs do not disavow the responsibilities cast upon them either by the code of honour or the Frontier Crimes Regulation. Even if they did, the arm of the law, in the shape of the Regulation, is strong enough to deal with them. Under the circumstances, one fails to appreciate the reasonableness of the advice that the Hindus should not return till the Musalmans give them full assurances as to their lives and property. The bitterness caused by the disturbances will take time to die out at Kohat as elsewhere. I am sure that the authorities are sincerely anxious to do all they can to help the Hindus. A careful study of the Resolution and its annexures will convince every impartial observer that the

Government of India and the local authorities have acted in a wise and sympathetic manner. After having examined the causes of the deplorable riots at Multan, Amritsar, Delhi, Kohat, Jubbulpur, Pilibhit, Lucknow, Shahjehanpur and Allahabad with an anxious care to be just to both parties, it is my view that it is no less the duty of our countrymen, Hindu and Muslim, than of the Government, effectively to keep in check the growing tendency in one community to provoke and the violent proclivity in the other community to retaliate !

The Congress-League Compact of 1916

One hears so much and so often about the Congress-League compact of 1916 that you would perhaps like to know the views of one who, as one of the representatives of the All-India Muslim League, was closely associated with it from beginning to end Fellow-members, let me assure you that your representatives, including myself, have no reason to be ashamed of their performance. Only those who have been in the thick of the battle fully realize the difference between the India of 1916 and the India of 1924. However dissatisfied our community to-day may be with some of its provisions, it must be acknowledged that the compact enacted a new era in the history of Indian constitutional advance. And if we desire it to be revised, we should remember that it always takes two to settle a dispute. The great objection urged against the compact is that it offends against all principles of justice and fairplay in that it does not secure its due to the majority community in the Punjab and Bengal. I am prepared to confess that, though a party to it, I must admit the force of your argument. If the other party had faithfully abided by its terms, I would have found myself in an unenviable position; and strong and just though the complaint of the Punjab and Bengal is, I would have had considerable hesitation in pleading for a reconsideration of its terms. But it seems that our Hindu fellow-countrymen are no more enamoured of it than many of the Musalmans. In fact, the first hole was cut into it by the non-Muslim members of the United Provinces Legislative Council, who in 1922 reduced Muslim representation in the

district boards to 25 per cent, instead of fixing it at 30 per cent as contemplated by the Compact. Similar complaints have been made by Musalmans in other provinces.

The question of a revision cannot, therefore, be delayed long. With the experience of 1916 to guide us, it must be borne in mind that once you open a settled question, you are overwhelmed with requests, demands and ultimatums on all sides. Be that as it may, I think the desire of a majority to come into its own is worthy of serious consideration. If the Musalmans in the Punjab, and possibly in Bengal, get what they want, will it be necessary to revise the proportions laid down for the Muslim minority in other provinces? I would be the last to put forward any proposals in the spirit of heads I win, tails you lose. A compromise is hardly worth the name, if thereby one party has everything to gain, and the other party everything to lose. A dispassionate consideration will, however, show that by righting the wrong done to the Punjab, and perhaps Bengal, Musalmans in 1916, and adhering to the pact in other respects, the Hindu majority in other provinces will not be prejudicially affected. Indeed, it will have no effect whatever on such a majority.

Considering the matter from an all India view-point, it is up to the Musalmans to compensate the Hindus for the loss of a few seats that will be transferred from the latter to the former in the Punjab, and may be in Bengal. That loss can be made good by making adequate provision for Hindu representation in such provinces as Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province. It is to be hoped that a Legislative Council will soon be established in the North-West Frontier Province. And may I here appeal to the Government to lose no time in granting this Province the reforms recommended by the North-West Frontier Enquiry Committee? There is, however, another direction in which the Musalmans may be able to meet the wishes of their Hindu compatriots. The well-known proviso in the Pact of 1916 says : "No Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question

is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution". Very great value is naturally attached to this safeguard by the Muslim community I have no right to assume that my community can be induced to accept a modification of this most valuable right.

In these democratic days, constitutional safeguards afford the greatest protection to minorities. So great is the need of such safeguards that the Allied and Associated Powers at the Paris Peace Conference came to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary to protect the minorities in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and Rumania by inserting a provision in the treaty made with those countries. The need of such a provision has been thus stated by Professor H.W.V Temperley in his admirable book, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris* : "In the very nature of things, it was inevitable that in every case there would be assigned to these States a considerable population alien in language, race, and religion. These people would be placed under the rule of those from whom they were estranged by long generations of bitter enmity, and in some cases of internecine warfare. Some guarantee, some security must be provided that they should not be subjected to injustice, that they should not be deprived of their political rights, nor exposed to legal disabilities and social persecution. This was not only in accordance with the general principles of justice and humanity, by which the peace was to be governed, but also was required by the most urgent reasons of political expediency."

It is not perhaps necessary to quote from the terms of the Treaty to show in what manner special protection was afforded to the minorities. The simple point is that the foundation of democracy is and should be mutual security. Viewed in this light, it is hardly possible to realize at this somewhat early stage what important part the proviso is going to play in our

future constitution. But so far as my personal views are concerned, I am prepared to reconsider a revision of its terms if a satisfactory settlement is come to on Muslim representation in the Provincial Councils. I take it that whatever decision is arrived at by mutual consent, it will be equally applicable to all local bodies.

Indiscretion of Delhi Municipal Committee

The action taken by the majority of the members of the Municipal Committee of Delhi with regard to separate constituencies raises such an important issue of principle as to call for a word. In the face of an almost solid Muslim opposition, the non-Muslim members have taken it upon themselves to recommend the abolition of separate electorates. I feel I would be failing in my duty if I did not unhesitatingly declare that our community looks upon their action as a direct encroachment on our rights. The issue is an all-India issue, and cannot certainly be decided by the whims and caprices of the municipal committee or that district board. Those who are prone to advise us, after the manner of men pretending to possess superior wisdom, must remember that we shall not tolerate the slightest invasion on our rights.

Musalmans and the Public Services

The strained relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities, in no small measure, arise out of the desire of the young men of each community to secure Government posts. Partly owing to the greater economic pressure to which they are subject, and partly in consequence of their past history and traditions, this tendency is more marked among the Musalmans than among other communities. The paucity of careers for educated Indians has heightened the trouble. It follows that if we Indians want to avoid jealousies, intrigues and incessant friction, an effort should be made to define each community's share in the public services. I may add that there is a third party equally, if not more, interested in this question, viz., the Government. But there is every reason to

believe that it will not be inclined to override an agreement come to between the parties. The number of posts going to the Musalmans will obviously vary from province to province. And it seems that in the absence of a more workable basis, we might fix it at the figure assigned to each community for the purposes of representation. It is obvious that the population basis is highly unsatisfactory and misleading. Take, for instance, the United Provinces, where the Muslim population amounted to less than 14 per cent about 24 years ago. So large, however, was the share of the Musalmans in the public services that we find Sir Antony MacDonnell (now Lord MacDonnell), who was regarded by our co-religionists as hostile to their interests, making the following statement in a speech in 1900, in vindication of his policy in regard to appointments to Government posts : "If I were asked to state a general rule by which the distribution of Government appointments between the two great communities should be regulated, I must say that, subject to the general rule that the best man for an important post should get it irrespective of creed or race, the Muhammedans could not fairly claim more than three appointments for every five appointments going to the Hindus . . . Owing to various reasons I have, as a matter of fact, recognized Muhammedan claims to a greater extent than on such a principle might be defensible."

The next question in this connection is the method of recruitment. As I have pointed out in connection with the Indian Civil Service, competitive examinations are no panacea for all our ills. But in case competitive examinations are instituted, I would strongly urge that the Musalman candidates should be placed on a separate list and that the operation of the principle should be confined to letting them compete among themselves.

Conclusion

Fellow-members, our path is long and devious, and we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the goal. For some time the stars have been fighting against us in their courses. But there is no cause for alarm; much less for des-

pair. Remember, the clouds are the darkest before the dawn. Already there is a streak of light above the horizon, if one would only care to see. Whatever the obstacles in our way, a common bond unites all of us who have started on the march towards the goal. And that bond is service of the motherland. The ennobling, inspiring sentiment has fired the imagination of us all. The worship of the motherland has brought to her altar the philosophical Brahman, the brilliant Bengali, the vigorous Maharatta, the sturdy Sikh, the refined Indian Christian, the cultured Zoroastrian, and the austere and unidolatrous Musalman—yes, even the Musalman, to whom this new worship is no idolatry. To her glory let us all sing :

There resteth to India a glory,
A glory that cannot grow old;
There remaineth to India a story,
A tale to be chanted and told.

20

FORM OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA*

Gentlemen, I feel greatly honoured by the confidence you have reposed in me, by asking me to preside at this session of the All-India Muslim League. We shall be called upon to devote our best thought and united energies to the consideration of important political problems fraught with possibilities for much good or evil to the country and, consequently, also to our community. I assure you that I have not accepted the responsibility of guiding your deliberations at this juncture with a light heart. The situation bristles with difficulties. I am afraid I shall tax your patience a great deal, for I feel that I must expound the Muslim political attitude in some fulness, especially as the community has very few recognized organs of expression. I ask you in all earnestness to give me your uninstinted support in carrying our deliberations to a successful issue, even though you may not agree with me on all points. I want you to bear in mind that, in the words of the *Hadis*, we are the followers of the middle path and the blessings of God rest on combined Muslims.

It was very appropriate that this important session of the League should be held at Aligarh. Here, Syed Ahmed, Mohsinul-Mulk, Shibli Nomani, Mushtaq Hussain and other leaders of thought and action laid the foundations of that modern liberal movement among the Muslims whose influence is now felt all over India. I was one of those who helped to usher the All-India Muslim League into existence, though I had to sever my connection with it soon after, in response

---

*Presidential address delivered by Sir Abdur Rahim at the Aligarh Session held on 30-31 December, 1925.

to the call of other public duties. Much time has since rolled by, and it is somewhat of a coincidence that I should return to the League at another crisis in the political fortunes of India. The League, as the spokesman of the Muslims of India, has contributed a great deal to the inauguration of both the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms; and the result of our discussions at this session is certain to influence the character and scope of the next political advance. Within the last few years, political agitations have intensified at a tremendous rate. It should be gratefully acknowledged by all that it was due to Mr. Montagu's bold imagination and love of this country that the principle of government through legislatures responsible to the people has been at all established in India. However much the various political parties differ amongst themselves as to the pace we are to go and the methods of work to be adopted, it is clear that there is no difference of opinion on the point that the progress of the constitution must be along the lines of a government responsible to the people. Happily, both the Viceroy and the present Secretary of State, representing the Conservative Government, have after most careful and prolonged consideration reaffirmed that great principle. This is our fundamental starting point.

In order to deal with the main political questions that are in controversy, it is necessary that I should mention some undisputed facts which have to be taken into account.

Hindu-Muslim Relations

Within its fold, the League has men of different shades of political opinion. The reason is that they are all actuated by a common anxiety to see that no public measure of importance overrides or overlooks the interests of the 70 million Muslims. But let no one think that the League devotes any the less thought to the promotion of measures for the good of the country as a whole, because it also scrutinizes them in their special bearing on the fortunes of the Muslims of India. That the League's standpoint is sound, none but uncompromising theorists can honestly deny; for any measures which are calcu-

lated to injure the interests of millions among India's population must, by reason of that fact alone, stand self-condemned. I am aware that there are some Englishmen who are unable to realize the need for separate Indian organizations for Muslims or Hindus; that is so only because they have been insufficiently enlightened about the real conditions in the country and are proposed with the idea that what differentiates Hindus and Musalmans is merely religion, and differences of religion should not interfere with the consideration of political problems. How we all wish that it were so! The fact, however, is that the Hindus and Musalmans are not two religious sects like the Protestants and Roman Catholics of England, but form two distinct communities or peoples, and so they regard themselves. Their respective attitudes towards life, their distinctive culture, civilization and social habits, their traditions and history, no less than their religion, divide them so completely that the fact that they have lived in the same country for nearly a thousand years has contributed hardly anything to their fusion into a nation. A mighty spiritual spell separates the 230 million of Hindus, not only from the 70 millions of Indian Muslims, but from the rest of humanity, while it divides the Hindus themselves internally into groups which know no social commerce with one another. Caste, with its cruel doctrine of untouchability, has survived many a social convulsion. It has baffled all the efforts of Buddha and Asoka, of Akbar and Aurangzeb; and the English panacea of nationalism has brought not more unity but worse divisions. It gives me no pleasure whatever to state these facts; for anyone who has the good of India at heart must at times give way to feeling of despair to see the deep and wide gulf separating the two communities, and to witness the collisions that have been taking place between them from time to time—more frequently indeed in recent days than ever before—often resulting in considerable bloodshed. These unfortunate riots between the more or less ignorant classes of Hindus and Musalmans are not, however, the worst symptoms of the malady. I *wish to make it clear here that I am going to dwell on the* mischievous activities of a certain class of Hindu politicians, because they unfortunately appeal to the lower instincts of a community; and human nature, such as we find it, seems to be

governed by something akin to the physical law of gravitation, the lower level of passion, and prejudices constantly pulling at the higher tendencies.

I refer to the *Shudhi*, the Mahasabha and the *Sangathan* movements, the professed object of the first being to convert Musalmans in millions to Hinduism, and that of the last to train the Hindus for self-defence, while the Mahasabha is a general organisation which comprehends all Hindu activities. The Muslims regard these movements, which are led by politicians like Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Sradhanand, as the most serious challenge to their religion that they ever had to meet—not even excepting the Christian crusades, whose objective mainly was to wrest back from the Muslims some places sacred to both—and as a grave menace to their political status. The result is that the Muslims have started their *Tanzeem*. I doubt that at any time in the history of India the relations between the two communities generally were so seriously strained as at present. In fact, some of the Hindus leaders have talked publicly of driving out the Muslims from India as the Spaniards expelled the Moors from Spain, that is, unless they perform *Shuddhi* and become Hindus or submit to their full political programme. Either of these alternatives would, according to their calculation lead to the other. We shall, undoubtedly, be a big mouthful for our friends so swallow. But as our Persian sage has warned us, never despise your enemy. Thanks to the artificial conditions under which we live, we have to admit that they are in a position of great advantage; and even the English have learnt to dread their venomous propaganda, a weapon of warfare which, by the by, in its most objectionable form went along with the poison gas and air bombs consecrated during the last war with the blessings of European nationalism. These amiable gentlemen are unceasingly at work : a section of them have specialized in vilifying all Muslim institutions, including Islam itself; some in distorting history to make out that no good has come to India from the advent of Islam, and practically all in proving that the Muslim co ''' unity is incompetent and composed of no better material than the lowest classes of their untouchables. They are equally adept in the art of belittling, in every way possible, our

best men in public positions, excepting only those who have subscribed to the Hindu political creed. What is the most obvious result of the propaganda of these political wiseacres? Riots and more riots. But they are rather pleased than sorry when some Muslims stung to fury run amok and retaliate, as it gives them an opportunity to charge the Muslim community with fanaticism and communalism. What have they achieved politically? Less than nothing. They have, in fact, by their provocative and aggressive conduct made it clearer than ever to the Muslims that the Muslims cannot entrust their fate to them and their class, and must adopt every possible measure of self-defence.

We Muslims must tell these politicians frankly and explicitly that their claims that India belongs solely to the Hindus is preposterous and unfounded and is unjust to India itself. India is a world in itself. We do not know who its original inhabitants were; perhaps a number of primitive tribes. However that may be, India, as some Urdu poet, I believe has put it, has been noted for its *mehman-nawazi* (i.e. hospitality). She is much more broadminded than those who pretend that she belongs to them. Her hospitable doors have always been wide open to all. She is great because of the numerous races that have realized their destinies within her boundaries; the Dravidians, the Aryans, the Tartars, the Scythians, the Arabs, the Persians, the Afghans, the Mughals, and the latest comers of all, the English, all have found the sustenance on the mighty breast of India. To India's greatness each one of these peoples has contributed. The Dravidians and Aryans have to their credit a magnificent system of speculative philosophy and a charming mythological literature. The Scythians are remembered by their gallant descendants, the Rajputs. The Arabs, the Persians and the Mughals have brought India a religion whose democratic teachings have succeeded in sweeping away the barriers of race and colour from among one-fifth of the human race on three continents of the globe. Theirs are those architectural monuments which in their wonderous beauty rank amongst the finest creations of human genius, and which, along with other similar buildings still to be seen in Spain, Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia, are among the wonders

of the world. They introduced and developed those crafts and arts whose exquisite products nowadays adorn every refined home of England and America. Who can say that the British have contributed nothing of value? If I am to put it in a few words, their most valuable gifts to India have been science, method and organization; and has any sane thinker any doubt that we must have increasingly and abundantly of these, if we are to build up a healthy vigorous people, amply supplied with the necessaries of life, rational in their outlook, strong and independent?

We admit the many good qualities of the great Hindu community—their alert intelligence, their thrift, and their industry—and I assure them that we have not the slightest desire or inclination to discourage talent and enterprise among them. Anyone who is at all acquainted with the history of the Muslim races all over the world, from Spain to Siberia and from Moscow to the heart of Africa, will never deny that they were the greatest patrons of human talent, energy and enterprise, without any consideration of race, colour or creed. They, in fact, explored every country for gifted men, lavished honours and treasures on them, assiduously collected and preserved the learning, wisdom and science of the past, and thus built up a great civilization of their own in an incredibly brief space of time. They take a fatally narrow view of things, indeed, who underrate the value of what we Indian Muslims have contributed and are able to contribute to the political development of the country. Whatever our faults, there are no other people so really free from prejudices of race, colour or class; and those politicians who would deny us all opportunities in public life should realize that, if they really seek to establish a self-government responsible, to the people, it is impossible to do it without our help. India's best future lies in the different communities that live or work here the fullest scope to develop and express their distinctive political genius instead of clogging them with theories borrowed wholesale from other countries but never before heard of here.

Some of the above-mentioned class of Hindu politicians think that they are making out a strong case against us by emphasizing the fact that we are deeply interested in the affairs of other

countries inhabited by Muslims. Consequently our patriotism, *it is suggested*, is not wholly confined to this country. If a common civilization, history, tradition, religion, and considerable affinity of race and language produce sentiments of sympathy and brotherhood among peoples whose social ideas are utterly uninfluenced by caste, colour or clime, is that a matter for reproach or to be surprised at? Any of us Indian Musalmans travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, Turks, Egyptians or Riffs would at once be made at home, and would not find anything in the ways and manners and the mode of living of our hosts to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India in the same town where we live, we find ourselves total aliens in all social matters when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our fellow Hindu townsmen live. Besides, some at least of the other Muslim countries are, so to speak, our religious homes, such as Palestine, Iraq and Hedjaz; others are full of religious and historic associations, such as Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, Syria and Egypt. On many important questions of theology, and even social observances, the opinions of learned Muslims and the practices of Muslim communities of other countries are cited and followed in India and *vice versa*. We Muslims are proud of our international outlook; and India would have been a happier country if she were not embarrassed by caste and untouchability. As for treason to India, is it not a fact that it is men belonging to the Hindu community that are engaged actively in conspiracies with foreign societies and Governments for creating trouble in India, and which, if at all successful, would end in an indefinite postponement of self-government? These politicians who would eliminate the English from India allege that in such a contingency, we Muslims would rather see a foreign Muslim power rule in this country. That is true in the sense that the Muslims would not like the Hindus any more than the Hindus would like the Muslims to rule in place of the British. The Muslims, though a silent community, are not blind to what is going on. I say emphatically, however, that it is not true that we Muslims would not like to see a self-governing India, provided the Government of the country is made as responsible to the Muslims as to the Hindus. That is, in fact,

the ideal to which we have always been asking our Hindu fellow-countrymen, or rather their politicians, to subscribe without any reserve, not merely by assenting to the abstract proposition, but by accepting measures by which alone it can be carried into effect. Otherwise, all vague generalities, such as *Swaraj* or commonwealth of India or home-rule for India have no attraction for us.

It is reassuring to find that there are a few Hindu politicians who are working hard and earnestly to promote the cause of unity and goodwill between the two communities. The Muslims have shown even greater earnestness in this cause. One remarkable fact should never be forgotten, that some Muslims went so far as to place some Hindu politicians on the pulpits of famous mosques as a pledge of their goodwill. But we are greatly discouraged by the poor results of our efforts. Nevertheless, this is not a question which we should put aside as impossible of solution. But as a first step we must fully meet and definitely check the baneful activities of those Hindu politicians who, under the protection of English bayonets and taking advantage of English tolerance and patience, are sowing trouble in the land to attain a *swaraj* the full implications of which they do not understand and would never face. It will, perhaps, be years before a substantial fusion of the two peoples comes about, and probably it will be as the result only of some general social upheaval. We must all, in the meantime, persevere in our effort as the most serious item in our daily task. The real solution of the problem we have in view is to bring about a state of things in which the conditions of life of the entire population, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, and Christians, the peasants, labourers, and Hindu untouchables, will be so improved economically and the political power so distributed in the general population by a class of monopolists and intelligentsia, whether Hindu or Muslim, will have disappeared, and with that all strife between the different communities. Will our Hindu friends also accept this as their aim in all their political and administrative thinking and work steadily towards it? It cannot, let them remember, be attained all at once by the adoption of any particular political measure however radical, still less by any philosophical *mantram*

(i.e. formula), however alluring in its simplicity. It is in fact the question of questions which is agitating the whole world; and whether anyone likes it or not, the social movement which is based on the cravings of universal human nature is not going to be stopped. It is for us to welcome it in India and give it a proper direction in the circumstances of the country. It is no longer the mere vision of a millennium; for modern science and organization can attain it and will attain it, perhaps before very long. It is an ideal which has a special appeal to us Muslims, since it is a fundamental conception of Islam itself. Islam, as you know, recognizes no class superiority or domination, it has no room even for a priesthood; and while it recognizes private rights, sets its face against the objectionable features of capitalism.

The Muslims in Bengal

I shall now give you a few facts regarding the position of the Muslims in Bengal, as an illustration of their general condition all over India, and indicate to you the causes that have brought it about. Any student of Indian history knows that since Bakhtiyar Khalji came to Bengal with 17 horsemen and captured the government of the area in 1199, the Muslims have indisputably been its rulers until the establishment of the East India Company's Government in 1757. During this period, Bengal wa› an independent Muslim kingdom for nearly 300 years, and for the rest it was more or less nominally a province of the Mughal Empire. The Arabs, perhaps even from before Khalji's conquest, had a brisk trade with Bengal on the Chittagong coast, and there must have been considerable admixture of Arab blood in the population of those coasts. The Afghans, the persians and the Mughals must have found employment in thousands in the army and the civil administration, not to speak of the numerous courtiers that must have flocked into the Province. The Muslim population there is now about 26 millions. Many of Bengal's Muslim rulers were great patrons of learning and literature. It is well known that Hafiz, as he himself says in one of his inimitable verses, received and invitation to the court of the Bulbans. It was under the patronage of the Muslim rulers of Bengal that the Bengali language and literature, which the

Sanskritic pundits used to look down upon, were developed with the collaboration of Muslim writers, somewhat in the same way as Urdu in the United Provinces. This s revealed by the investigations of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and other authorities on the subject.

In the plains of Bengal everything decays with incredible rapidity, but magnificent ruins in brick and mortar are still there to testify to Muslim Bengal's past grandeur. In Dacca or Jehangirnagar, which was one of the later Muslim settlements, you will even now find beautiful mosques at a distance of every few yards; and the Golden Mosque at Gour, one of the earliest Muslim capitals in Bengal, must have been one of the grandest places of worship in the world. Only the other day, one Englishman, after seeing the ruins of Gour, writes in the *Field* that the city in Muslim days must in extent and population have been nearly equal to Calcutta, and the people of those days must have attained a high standard of civilization. He says, "The line of 49 Muslim kings who reigned there between 1200 and 1530 kept a court of which the oriental splendour must have nearly equalled that of the contemporary rulers of Delhi." In Hunter's *Indian Musalmans*, you will find the description of a village in which, just before days of the East India Company, a Muslim nobleman lived in his mansion on the banks of a beautiful lake, where the ladies used to enjoy the cool evening breeze in gaily painted house-boats, in the midst of an extensive park where men used to hunt preserved game. Adorned with hundreds of such mansions, the countryside of Bengal in the days of the Muslim kingdom must have presented a picture very different from that of the present times. Even during the regime of the East India Company, only three generations back, a large portion of the land of Bengal was held by Muslim *jagirdars*, *aimmadars* and zemindars, and the civil administration was staffed almost entirely with Musalman officers, *dewans*, *sadrisadurs*, *muftis*, *hazis* and maulvis, etc...Education was widely spread, and I have not the least hesitation in asserting that the percentage of literacy among the Musalmans in those days was higher than at present. Every Musalman of position had a madrasa or maktab and a mosque attached to his house;

these madrassa turned out men well educated in Arabic and Persian able to conduct business in the courts as judges and *vakils* and in other capacities in the administration, in Persian and latterly in Urdu. I myself have seen the ruins of some of those madrassas. One of the first steps in the policy of the East India Company, when its military ascendency was firmly established in Bengal, was to abandon recruitment of the Musalmans of Bengal in the army; and when it obtained a firm grasp of the details of the revenue, judicial and police administration of the country with the help almost entirely of Muslim officers, the Court of Directors, though not without considerable division of opinion, suddenly altered their policy. English and Bengali were substituted for Persian and Urdu; and in one generation the Muslims were swept out of the administration. The motive was mainly political, though it was supported on administrative grounds.

The Resumption Proceedings, which were started soon after the Wahabi movement in Bengal and apparently in consequence of it, resulted, according to Hunter's estimate, in the confiscation of one-fourth of the land from Muslim *jagirdars* and *aimmadars*. The cumulative effect of these policies was to pauperize the entire well-to-do and educated classes of the community, consisting of hundreds of families, and to throw out of employment vast numbers of the general population. Most of these families had to resort to villages, so that they might earn a scanty living by cultivating the few acres of land that were still left to them or they could get hold of. There they had neither the means nor the facilities for educating their children; but to-day, in many a humble Muslim cultivator's family all over Bengal, you will find traditions of better days. The large admixture of Arabic and Persian words in the spoken Bengali language also testifies to the past history. The net result has been that the classes of the community which should ordinarily provide its leaders have, owing to impoverishment and lack of suitable openings in life, become considerably disorganized and demoralized, so that one obvious thing immediately necessary is to reconstruct that class.

This is a mere sketch of the present condition of Bengal and I would not have dwelt on it but fact that it is a very striking example of what has happened to Muslims throughout India. It must be admitted that the change of government was bound to tell most heavily on the former rulers of the country, who were dislodged. But it was not necessary that they should have been reduced to their present condition. I have never been able to understand why the performance of boys and youths in the examination hall should be regarded as a test of the capability of vast communities, for that is really what is at the back of the present administrative system.

Advancement of the Indian Muslims

It is, however, no use quarrelling with the past; and when the English people themseleves, in laying the foundations of responsible government in the country, have given incontrovertible proof their desire to give all classes and sections of the people of India a real opportunity to ameliorate their condition, it follows that the old arrangements, which experience has shown to benefit only a limited class of intelligentsia, and which do not suit large sections of the population, must be radically altered, I shall not be surprised if substantial steps are soon taken in that direction. If it is England's duty to help India forward as a whole on the path of progress, she owes a specially onerous duty towards India's 70 million Musalmans, who have continuously suffered and declined. Nevertheles, it should be constantly borne in mind by us that we must continue to exert the pressure of public opinion on the Government of the day, if we are to advance our position.

It is not our desire, in recreating an influential educated body, to set up the domination of a Muslim intelligentsia in the country side by side with that of the Hindus. What we want is to afford opportunities to the most intelligent and energetic men among the Muslims with their special knowledge of the difficulties of their community to help in advancing the economic, educational and political progress of the general population. We hold that it would be impossible for any Government to neglec

the Muslim community without seriouly jeopardising the best interest of India as a whole...Their economic value to the country is incalculable. But for the plucky Muslim sailors and skilful navigators supplied by Bengal, Bombay and Sind, India's trade with the outside world, round the coasts and along the great Indian rivers, would be seriously handicapped. It is due mainly to the enterprise of the Muslim peasants of the Punjab, Bengal and other provinces that India owes much of her wealth; and certainly Bengal, which is perhaps the best cultivated of all provinces and where almost every inch of land grows paddy or jute, would have remained largly an unreclaimed marsh but for Muslim labour, Malabar owes much indeed to the Moplas, for without their indomitable pluck, large tracts of it would still have remained unreclaimed jungles haunted by elephants and tigers. Burma, especially Rangoon, is greatly indebted to Muslim merchants from Bombay, and to various forms of labour supplied by the Muslims of Bengal. Indian colonial settlements in East Africa, South Africa and Australia are largely composed of Muslims from different parts of India. During the war, I am told, the Muslim sepoys of the North-West and the Pnnjab formed the majority of the Indian troops that fought for British; and a monument is now to be seen in the Calcutta Strand, commemorating the valuable services rendered by the Muslim seamen of Bengal throughout the war.

Take the various arts and crafts to which I have already alluded. The beautiful silk, woollen and cotton fabrics for which India is noted, the shawls and the embroidery work of Kashmir, the gold cloth of Benares, the muslin of Dacca, prints of Lucknow and Farrukhabad, the wood-carvings of Kashmir, the brass and other metal work of Moradabad, the jewellery of Delhi and the silverwork of Kashmir, the exquisite needle-work of Delhi and Madras, the entire carpet manufacture of India, and practically all similar crafts are carried on by the skill and labour of Muslim artisans. What greater disservice could any politician do to India than to attempt to supress the Indian Muslim's aspirations by denying him a fair and adequate opportunity for self-expression.

An Evaluation of Experience in Government Service

Gentlemen, you will now permit me to relate to you some general results of my experience in the different public positions that I have filled during the last 17 years. It has been my lot to be in daily contact with ‹ducated Indians and Englishmen for high upon 35 years, as a practising barrister, a judge, a member of an important Royal Commission, and last of all as a Member of the Executive Council of Bengal, from which I have just retired. I wish to acknowledge without reserve that I found that I had much to learn from my English colleagues at every stage of my career, and I would have been a great loser if I had the advantage of working with them. All those with whom I worked here and in England will admit that, whenever I did not agree with my English colleagues, I freely expessed my dissent, and perhaps more so than any other Indian in a similar position. Nor did this happen infrequently. Looking back, however, I must admit that, if in some cases I was in the right, so were they in others, I have also been associated with many eminent countrymen of mine in the discharge of public duties, and I believe they will admit that most of the progressive measures were originated by the initiative of Englishmen themselves.

I was tempted to leave the Bench with its quiet, dignified life to join the new Government of Bengal under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme mainly by the prospect that there would be five Indians—two Executive Councillors and three Minister—in a Government of eight men, including the Governor, and I naturally thought that the Indian point of view would necessarily have the greatest possible chance. I did not care to scrutinize the detailed provisions of the Act and the rules and regulations. The one fact alone that there would be five Indians in the Government was sufficient for me. Nor was I wrong; for I cannot recall even a single occasion when there was agreement on any question among us Indians that our opinion was disregarded. I have no knowledge of other provinces, but I should be very much surprised if things were at all different elsewhere. If the Indian point of view has not prevailed on any questions where it should have, then it must be attributed more to the

weakness of the Indian Members and Ministers than anything else.

Take again the more important Public Commissions and Committees. There is no rule, convention or understanding that the members chosen from the official personnel, Englishmen or Indians, should all vote one way or support any particular policy; and as you know I myself acted upon that principle in the Public Services Commission. Again, when I was asked to give evidence before the Muddiman Committee, I had the liberty to express my own views, which radically differed from those of the Government, and took full advantage of it. Now take the Lee Commission. It had on it four Indians, of whom two were from the first ranks of public life in India. I say nothing now about the merits of their recommendations. All that I want to say is that those who condemn them should bear in mind that the five English members of the Commission were fully justified in presuming that the recommendations which had the support of all their Indian colleagues were *prima facie* in accordance with Indian public opinion. So also in the Muddiman Committee the report of the majority was signed by two out of six Indian members.

As regards Indians in the Government, it is alleged that the system is such that the Indian majority in the Government cannot enforce their views. Dealing with the provinces, what is referred to mainly is the provision of law which vests power in a Governor to override the rest of the Government in certain contingencies, and to dissent from the Ministers at his own discretion. But even without any formal rules enunciating joint responsibility, there was nothing to prevent all the members of a Government in any province acting together in enforcing their views if the Governor overruled any of them, or all of them, in any measure of importance on which they were agreed. Do not however misunderstand me. I do not suggest for one moment that the Government of India Act and the rules framed under it do not require amendment; in fact, as you know, even while I was a member of the Bengal Government, I pressed strongly before the Muddiman Committee for considerable amendmen-

of the law to bring it into harmony with the intention of the Act, which is to make those important branches of administration, education, health, self-government, agriculture and industries, entirely responsible to the legislature. All that I want to point out now is that however democratic a constitution you may have and whatever checks and counter-checks you may provide on paper for that part of the Constitution where the power really centres, much will always depend on the temperament and disposition of those who have to work it. Of this, you will find, in Woodrow Wilson's book on the American Constitution, a most convincing confirmation; and this fact, therefore, must be borne in mind by all constitution-makers, especially by us.

But do not think for one moment that much good work has not been accomplished during the last five years by the combined efforts of Indians in the Government and the various legislatures, working on co-operation with and, if all the facts were told, often led by the experience and political wisdom of Englishmen. Some reduction has been made in the army expenditure, though much more yet remains to be done; considerable economy has been effected in the civil departments; and deficit budgets have been converted into surplus budgets everywhere. The vital principle of fiscal autonomy has been at least partially recognized. The cotton excise duty has been suspended preparatory, let us hope, to its complete abolition. Discriminating protection has been adopted, and the great steel concern of the Tatas has already derived much benefit from it. The salt tax has been reduced; a comprehensive Taxation and Economic Enquiry Committee has been instituted; and the Currency Commission is now holding its sittings. I shall be much surprised if after these committees have reported, India's economic and financial conditions are not much improved. The exclusion of Indians from the Commissioned Ranks of the Army is now a thing of the past; and it ought not to be long before a full-fledged Sandhurst is established in India, and an Indian militia is formed to supply the needs of our country's defence from external aggression and internal troubles. The Government of India has been making unremitting efforts to

secure equitable treatment for Indian colonists in South Africa and keeping a vigilant watch on the position and welfare of emigrants. The Indianization of the services is going on apace and has already outstripped the aspirations of Hume, Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerjee, Tyabji and Gokhale. The laws discriminating between Indians and Europeans in criminal trials have been greatly modified; and in every department of civil administration, the English officers' reluctance to take orders from Indian Members, Ministers and Heads of Department has disappeared. Up-to-date ideas of education are being worked out, and the many new universities that have been established are undoubtedly an advance on the old type. Steps are being taken to inaugurate universal compulsory primary education; and some little beginning, though very rudimentary, is being made in the domain of technical and vocational education.

The bounds of local self-government have been considerably extended; and the conscience of the educated classes and the Government has been roused to the need for improving the health of the people and the general conditions of their living. It seems that the new Viceroy will be in a position to take an expert's interest in the development of agriculture in the country; and let us hope that in this important matter, he will be able to apply his ideas to the practical benefit of the agricultural classes. Let us also hope that he realizes that the spread of suitable education in the agricultural community is an indispensable condition of agricultural development. Owing mainly to the extension of franchise under the Reforms, some of political responsibility and power though yet very faint and circumscribed, has been awakened in much large circles among the general population, and there has been a distinct improvement in the social relations between the English and the Indians. How I wish that relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans had not been growing so thoroughly unsatisfactory.

I am one of those idealists who see no end and would put no limit to human progress, and still less to that of 300 millions of my countrymen. The horizon of my vision is not even bounded by Dominion Status or *swaraj* or a commonwealth of India.

My only concern is that we should have a clear grasp of the realities of the situation, in order that we may chalk out a firm and ample path of uninterrupted advance by suitable methods and measures.

The British Presence in India

Government, gentlemen, is an expression of the social capacity of a people. Any people living within a territory or forming a particular tribe or race or a congregation of tribes and races may be able to determine their own government. If they do, it implies, first of all, that they have a certain unity of purpose, are able to act together in administering the affairs of the community, and have sufficient self-discipline to acquiesce in the exercise of authority by some man or men from among themselves.

Granting that, there is still the further condition that they have the means and capacity to resist the attacks of other peoples. When both these conditions, which are inseparable, are fulfilled, we have self-determination in the real sense. No one, unless he closes his eyes to palpable facts, will deny that the chance of one powerful people attacking another people nowadays is not less but more than it was in the days of Chengiz Khan, Halaku or Timur, Mahmud of Ghazni, Bakhtiyar Khalji, Babar, Atilla, Alexandar of Macedon and the Christian Crusaders, Napoleon, Clive and Warren Hastings. Whatever excuse they may make, the aggressive peoples are almost always inspired by the lust for power and possession.

For some time before the last war, an impression, or at least a hope, prevailed that the peoples of Europe were so blended together by ties of civilization that they would never fight among themselves; and if they had to fight with uncivilized races—I am using the world in the European's sense—, they would not go beyond certain limits in killing and exploiting.

After the last European war, which according to political phrase-makers was waged in order to end war, no one can

pretend that the mainsprings of action of the modern European nations are less primitive than those of other nations, past or present.

Look at how France, the leader of European civilization, has been engaged in combination with Spain in exterminating the Riffs, a gallant little nation whose only fault seems to have been an unyielding desire to live its own life and arrange its own affairs, and how France, again, has laid in ruins the most beautiful historic city of Damascus, full of great memories, killing and mutillating with shells and air bombs thousands of peaceful citizens, including children, women and old men. It is true that no European nation desires to administer the affairs of another European nation in the same way as those of non-Christian non-European peoples. That is partly because even the weakest European nation is better organized than most non-European peoples, and partly because the general public opinion of Europe is more sensitive in the one case than in the other. Nor can it be assumed that the greed for territory and dominion has died out among the Asiatic peoples; and if we see fewer cases of aggression among them, it is only because none of them are strong enough to subjugate the others in the face of European and American competition.

I have not known anyone who has seriously suggested that the people of this country, left solely to themselves, would at present be able to set up a Government of their own and maintain it against outside attacks. They are no better organized, and otherwise far less equipped for self-defence, than when a handful of Englishmen took over the Government of the country from the Mughals, practically without any resistance. And if it were true that Englishmen are here mainly to rob and exploit us, and would not scruple to use any form of deception or violence to achieve their object, as some nationalists persist in describing them, then surely the prospect of any substantial political advance must be wholly illusory. That, however, is not the proper standpoint from which to look at the question.

Whether the English captured the Government of India by conquest, or it was voluntarily made over to them by a section of the people, and acquiesced in by the rest, may be a point of historical controversy. We are ready to concede that they are not here on a purely self-sacrificing mission, and that their connection with India must be of some advantage to them. India is prepared to pay everyone who serves her in any capacity his due wage. But while we concede this, we should be justified in expecting that the English should help us with their wider political experience in advancing the well-being and growth of the country. It will serve no practical purpose to discuss the question of balance of advantages in its numerous pros and cons. It is sufficient and best for us all to recognize frankly that the presence of the English people in the prevailing circumstances of India is justified by necessity.

At the same time, we must point out to those Englishmen who would assume the role of political prophets that nothing useful is achieved by laying down that they cannot conceive of a time when the English would cease to be administratively connected with India. Political prophecies do very little good to any party. In matters governing the destinies of nations, true wisdom is to be found in the words of the Holy Quran "God exalts whomsoever He chooses, and abases whomsoever he chooses". England owes a great moral debt to India, and the only way she can discharge that debt is by taking all possible measures to help her to become self-reliant and strong. The best men of England recognize this obligation; and we ought to meet them in that spirit, and combine with them to overcome the opposition or inertia of the narrower-minded men.

Nor should statesmen shut their eyes to the evidences of social up-heaval which are manifest all over the world, including that new ideas and fresh forces are at work, which must radically alter the relations between classes and classes and between different groups of people. As for relations between the different peoples, nationalism, in which is ingrained a spirit of jealous rivalries an combativeness, is shown, especially the last war, to be full of serious dangers; for when it is most active, hate

becomes its sacred hymn, and religion, and even God himself, is appropriated to the cause of destruction. It is also much too inelastic for a world where time and space have been practically annihilated. Race theories are found to be too shadowy and confused and, in any case, inconsistent with the territorial definition of patriotism. When we find Jewish statesmen like Benjamin Disraeli, Goschen, Montagu, Rufus Isaacs and others leading England and moulding its policy and outlook, and that a phrase like Greater Britain had to be devised to include Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, no logical basis remains for orthodox English nationalism. It is now but a bundle of old traditions and history. All the circumstances point irresistibly to the necesssity that the Imperial Conference should be given a constitution in which India will have an honoured and equal place.

The League of Nations

Then, is the League of Nations without significance? At present the European nations are undoubtedly too predominant there, but that great benefactor of India, Montagu—who died with his face to the wall, because of so many of our latest politicians' ingratitude and short-sightedness—made India its original member; and when the worst features of nationalism will have disappeared, we can well look forward to the time when the League of Nations will become a greater League of Humanity. Germany will soon be taken into the League, and do you think it possible that Russia, Turkey, Arabia, and Egypt will long be kept out? You may call this optimism in the face of how France is dealing with the Riffs and the Syrians, of the inability of the League to deal with these or to settle the Mosul question in a manner calculated to advance the cause of peace among nations. But no great movement had reached its destined end without frequent setbacks and fluctuations. The League of Nations will undoubtedly mark a great step in the direction of establishing equitable relations between the different peoples of the earth as soon as the Asiatic and African nations are adequately represented on it.

Democracy in the Indian Context

Let us now try to understand why responsible government of the people by the people for the people has acquired such a hold on the mind of the world, or why the famous saying of Campbell-Bannerman, that good government is no substitute for self-government, has become so popular. It is not because of its superior efficiency, for a monarchy or an oligarchy or government by foreigners may be more efficient. Its greatest value is educative, for on one day at least, each third or fifth or seventh year, every citizen, be he a labourer or a peasant, realizes that he stands on a footing of absolute equality with the prince, the politician and the financier in selecting men to administer the affairs of the country for the common benefit of all. This, however, can only be very partially and imperfectly attained in India for sometime yet to come, for it must be years before every Indian, man and woman, can have a vote; even the great majority of the present voters, who form but a small fraction of the population, do not realize the full value and effect of their votes. In this essential respect, therefore, we are far off from the ideal.

Nor is it possible, in present circumstances, to have one common general electorate without leaving the minorities absolutely at the mercy of the majority. We must admit that full responsible government has little meaning unless it is really responsible to the will of the majority; and whatever checks and counter-checks you may put into the constitution, they cannot and must not do away with this essential character of responsible government, though they may to some small extent modify its operation. Even such modification will depend on the general goodwill and toleration, self-restraint and far-sightedness of the majority wanting in these qualities can be far more tyrannical and oppressive than individual autocrats of the present day. In our country the majority and the minority are sharply determined among the general population by their respective religion, past history, differences of culture, civilization, social outlook and habits of life, in short by communalism and not at all by any political principles, such as have been associated, for instance,

with the conservative, the liberal and the socialistic parties of England. The Hindu and the Muslim communities, which mainly compose the population, are roughly in the proportion of 4 to 1 in India as a whole. Even in Bengal and the Punjab, where the Muslim proportion is the largest, the two peoples are almost equally divided, the Muslims slightly preponderating. Again, whatever you do, votes are and will be largely affected by influence of various sorts exerted by men of the locality and by the different organizations in the country. In this respect also, the Hindus are in a position of great advantage throughout India, as money-lenders, bankers and land-holders and as constituting the official personnel of the entire public administration, not merely in the various departments of Government such as the revenue, the executive, the police and the judiciary, but also in the municipalities, district boards, local boards, unions, in the universities, colleges and schools, in sanitary boards, hospitals and dispensaries almost everywhere. They are also far better organized.

The weakness of our political position is specially marked in Bengal, where the Muslim population amounts to more than one-third of the total Muslim population of India and 55 per cent of the entire population of the Province. Half, or more than half, of the members now sitting in the Bengal Legislative Council owe their return to the influence, monetary help and organization of a section of Hindu politicians and are therefore at their disposal. I shall just give you a few illustrations of what I mean. At one time, in consequence of certain political divisions in the Council, there were two Muslim Ministers in charge of all the Transferred Departments, but they were turned out of office by a combination which commanded, among others, 20 Muslim votes. This was not, be it remembered, because of any unpopular policy of theirs in the Departments for which they were responsible. Now let us consider the attitude of these Muslim members towards some of the more important measures which were brought up before the present Council. You have heard of the Hindu-Muslim Pact of Bengal which, among other considerations, influenced so many Muslim members to join a political party entirely controlled by the

astute Hindu brain and supported by their money and organization. When the Pact was mooted in the Council, these gentlemen effectively helped by their votes to postpone indefinitely the solution, so far as the Bengal Council was concerned, of a very important question which, not merely in Bengal, but throughout India, has so largely divided the two communities.

Only the other day, a Bill was put forward by Government to provide for a statutory grant to meet the current recurring expenditure of the Dacca University; and in the circumstances, there was no question that such a provision had become necessary if that University, which was full of possibilities and already doing excellent work, was to carry on its activities in an atmosphere of peace and security. The University caters for Eastern Bengal, where Muslims form the bulk of the population, and they naturally supply a substantial number of the undergraduates and graduates, though amounting only to one-third of the total number, and on its governing body, the Muslims are represented to the extent of about one-half. Its Muslim Hall is an institution most full of promise for the Muslims of Bengal, who are still backward in education. And yet, the Muslim Swarajist Members of the Council in a body voted against the measure, though none ventured to speak against it. One of them actually supported the measure in his speech, which will doubtless, in proper time, be brought to the notice of his constituents—and yet joined with the others in voting against it. In spite of these men, however, the Bill was passed into law and the Dacca University was saved.

The latest feat of these men and their party occurred only a few days ago. You may be aware that in Bengal agriculture is the pursuit of about 90 per cent of the population; and upon the labours of these cultivators, who do their daily work in malarial swamps, depend almost the entire wealth and resources of the Province. An important but extremely moderate measure, the object of which is to improve the working of the present Bengal Tenancy Act, and give some little relief to the ryots as well, was placed before the Council at its last session. Of the personnel

of the proposed Select Committee, the majority were large landholders of considerable influence, and some member of the Legislative Council moved to add three or four names of men who might be in a position to put forward the case of the dumb millions of cultivators of whom the majority are Muslims. For the first time in its history, the Swaraj Party of Bengal, in which there are, as I have said, about 20 Muslim members out of 40, trooped into the Government lobby to defeat the motion. Another motion which was carried with their help was to enlarge the quorum, so that if the influential landholders on the Select Committee so wished, the Committee would be unable to report in time, and the Bill would be automatically lost when the life of this Council is completed in the course of a year. The Swaraj Party in Bengal not only has many rich zemindars, within its fold but also receives considerable financial support from them. It is thus extremely doubtful whether they can ever be in a position to fulfil any of its responsibilities to the ryots and labourers in whose name they always choose to speak. The very first case in which, after two years ploughing of the sands, they have shown the new spirit of what is called 'responsive cooperation' in a measure of importance must be largely destructive of such hope. To please the capitalists and zeminders, their patrons, and also to serve the ryots and labourers is the impossible task which the Swarajists in Bengal have undertaken. The Swarajists as a political party are, at least in the Bengal Legislative Council, a mere futility; and their Muslim supporters are a hoax perpetrated on the Muslim electorates of Bengal.

Different Political Approaches

It does not require any extraordinary acumen for anyone to realize that the political position in India is full of complexities and difficulties. There are in it factors which are bound to create considerable division of opinion and divergence of action. It is no good ignoring this fact, nor the fact that in the circumstances, sentiments and passions are bound to affect differently the policies and conduct of men of different temperaments. At one extreme you have men who would be satisfied with nothing but a revolution, who honestly feel that revolution furnishes the

proper and only solution I do not know whether the revolutionaries have any political programme; if they have, they have not divulged it. Their immediate objective apparently is to overthrow the British regime, and with it the entire present system of government. We can, however, dismiss the revolutionaries summarily, both because there is not the least possible chance of their success and because we do not know what is the form of government which they would like or be able to substitute in the event of their success. We Muslims, whose history for 1300 years and more has been one of constant struggles and wars spreading over most countries of Asia, Africa and Europe, cannot but regard as extremely foolish and insane the men who think that by throwing a few bombs now and then, or shooting one or two Englishmen from behind, or by raising and looting the houses of some unsuspecting and defenceless Indian villagers and by killing and torturing them, they are going to shake the foundations of British power in India. The only thing serious about the conduct of such men is that it is bound, if it persists for any time, to rouse the passions of Englishmen; and in so far as it contains a warning to the British, as the Swarajist champion of the political prisoners in Bengal put it the other day, is it seriously to be supposed that the English will be cowed by such a hollow threat? We Muslims cannot regard boys or men suffering from hysteria a serious politicians; and the fact is significant that not a single Muslim has joined them.

As for non-co-operation as a political weapon, I remember having put it to a high unbending English official in the Punjab, when I cross-examined him in the Public Service Commission and found that he would not move an inch in favour of Indian demands, what would happen to the administration if the Indians in the services combined and resigned. He had of course to admit candidly that the administration could not be carried on for a day. *A fortiori*, if not only Indians in the administration but all those who are engaged in various professions and businesses, by which the English connection is maintained and English commerce carried on, held aloof, as was the original objective of the non-co-operation movement, the British power in India would collapse. This is as simple as A B C. At the

same time, it is, I believe, realized by all that the whole idea is impossible, for it takes no note of human nature. Apart from that, I do not think that it has been made quite clear what the positive political demands of the orthodox non-co-operators are. If we are told that it is *Swaraj* we are not much better off, for we have no definition of it from them, and cannot therefore discuss its merits. I do, however, understand the attitude of the true non-co-operators who are, I believe, also called 'no-changers', in so far as they want to keep aloof from active politics, because they find it more in consonance with their own self-respect and dignity, and as the custodians of the self-respect and honour of India, not to place themselves in a position where they will not be able to run the entire Government as they like, but have to act as colleagues of Englishmen and Indians who may not always see fit to agree with them. With such an attitude we have no quarrel. I do not know whether there are any people still left who believe in the possibilities of civil disobedience. In any case Mr. Gandhi himself recognizes that it is not possible. This much, however, I must emphatically say in this connection, that the leaders of non-co-operation should first of all see that the entire intelligentsia and well-to-do classes, lawyers and merchants, zemindars, Government officials of all grades, men practising Western medicine and the others, set the example before they call upon the poorer classes, such as the ryots, to practise civil disobedience.

The Swaraj Party is of a more complex character. It has in is composition three factors dominating its policy : a general distrust and hatred of the English people, which appeals to an overstrung section of the educated *bhadralog* class from which the revolutionaries of Bengal are drawn; conciliation of the Muslims, and securing their support by acceptance of their demands; and lastly a bid for the support of the general population by putting themselves forward as champions of the cause of the ryots and labourers. The first factor which is the source of this party's strength, such as it is contains in it seeds of fatal conflict with the rest of the programme. The *bhadralog* class is composed of zemindars and capitalists whose interests

are essentially opposed to those of the ryots and labourers, and the educated Hindu middle classes are reluctant to share their position in the Government and the administratian with the similar classes among Muslims. The real ambition of the *bhadralogs*, as a class, is to substitute themselves in place of the British official [administrators. Unless the Swarajists make up their minds definitely to free their party from the influence of monopolists and capitalists, it is not possible for them to act as a genuine people's party. If they do, that would indeed be a step in the political advancement of the country; but it is more than doubtful that such a radical change will happen in the outlook of the party. As it is, they are neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring, and their activities are positively injurious to the country. So far as one can gather, responsible government with Dominion Status is also their goal; but it is difficult to understand how the Swarajists, who profess not to be revolutionaries or anarchists, can regard wholesale and continuous obstruction of the daily work of administration as a legitimate procedure, when it must necessarily in various ways injure thousands of people in their daily lives. Signs, however, are not wanting that they will have to abandon obstruction as a policy, even if they do not disavow it altogether. Then, it will be possible for them to put their house in order and embark on constructive work which the founder of the party, the late Mr. C. R. Das, had set up as its ultimate aim.

The rest of the political parties seem to agree that we have to seek political advancement of the country by all methods open to us under the Constitution and as a component unit of the British Empire; nor is there any disagreement among them regarding the ideal of self-government with Dominion Status. From what I have seen of the working of these groups in the Legislative Council of Bengal, the inference to be drawn in that they differ in the tone of their speeches, and also on some detailed questions of administrative policy. We must here note the fact that in the Swaraj Party, which is actuated by a desire for more or less revolutionary changes in the Constitution, and which has not yet applied *itself seriously to any constructive programme*

of political work which-could be tested by its bearing on the welfare of the people and its effects on the different communities, there is a certain amount of harmony between the Hindu and the Muslim members. But when you come to the parties who have interested themselves in concrete problems of administration, the divergence between the representatives of the two communities becomes at once painfully conspicuous. The Swarajists, having taken over the administration of the Calcutta Corporation, must have found out how difficult the actual task of administration is even in municipal matters, unless the administrators are strong enough to resist all influence detrimental to public good and to act firmly and impartially towards the various communities whose interests are in their keeping. The Muslim members of the Corporation, with the exception, I believe, of one man or two, have severed their connection with the Swarajist group in the Coiporation, making an excuse of the question of the burial, in the municipal market, of the so-called once thought of you must have heard; and they have more than Pir, of whom resigning from the Corporation itself. I believe that, in several places in the United Provinces, the Muslim members of municipalities and district boards have resigned by way of protest against certain actions of the Hindu majority.

Constitutional Issues

We have been calle l upon by the Secretary of State for India to put forward a constitution on which there would be general agreement, by which, I believe, he must mainly have meant agreement among the Hindus and Muslims. For that purpose, it is necessary to have a conference of the leading representatives of the two communities, and I hope that it may be possible to bring it about soon. There are, however, certain broad points on which there is absolute'or, at least, practical unanimity among Muslims, which I have already indicated but which I might just as well summarize. No one can fail to be convinced by the history of the elective system in India, whether in the Legislature or self-governing bodies like municipalities, district bards and universities, that no Muslims, excep · erhaps in places where n an overwhelming majority, would have a chance of

being returned by a common electorate. Nor can there be the slightest doubt that this is only natural, having regard to the general attitude of one community towards the other. So no one need expect that Muslims will at present accept a general common electorate. The proposal to earmark a certain number of seats for Muslims to be returned by mixed electorates is even more open to objection. If the Muslims are not represented at all in the legislative and the self-governing local bodies, they would be wholly free to do whatever they could to resist measures injurious to their interests; but supposing Muslims are returned through mixed electorates, it is absolutely certain that these men will be entirely the creatures of a certain class of influential Hindus, and as such they will be helpless in the matter of faithfully representing the views aud aspirations, and to protect the interests, of their community. As I have pointed out to you, even under the separate communal electorate system, the weaker constituencies, though entirely Muslim, are liable to be dominated by the influence of zemindars, lawyers and money.lenders, and even by men employed in the local administration, the great majority of whom are Hindus. Under the present system, we have some Muslims in the legislatures who are in an independent position and are able freely to represent the needs and demands of their constituencies. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get such men at all through a mixed electorate. Separate electorates have been found necessary not only for the Muslims, but also for Europeans. How could anyone, under the circumstances, honestly deny separate electorates to Muslims, unless he is actuated by a desire to wipe off the community from the legislative bodies of the country?

Let me now summarize the general conclusions which I have already fairly clearly indicated in describing the present situation and the nature of the problems arising out of it.

We have to be satisfied, at present, with much less than the full ideal of responsible government for the following reasons : (a) It is not practicable for some time yet to come to extend the franchise to every adult man and woman, or to rely upon the general body of voters to understand *their responsibility* so as

to make an intelligent use of their vote. (b) For the present, it would be impossible to institute a common general electorate for all classes and communities, without jeopardizing the interests of large and important minorities, and thus giving rise to serious trouble in the land. Besides other possible safeguards for the protection of minority interests generally, the two communities, Hindus and Muslim, should be represented in the legislatures in the proportion of their respective populations; and neither community should have less than 33 per cent of the seats in the Indian and provincial legislatures. (c) Not merely goodwill, but co-operation of Englishmen in the Government, the administration and the legislatures of the country is necessary until the people are sufficiently united among themselves and politically advanced and strong enough to resist outside aggression.

Subject to these limitations, the present Constitution should be so modified as to remove all difficulties in the way of representatives of the people securing unhampered progress for the country, politically and economically.

Indian opinion, I believe, is generally agreed that the Secretary of State for India should be relieved of all questions of executive administration, however important. He should be concerned only with those large questions of policy which affect the relations between India and Britain, the colonies or foreign powers, or which concern the Native States. The Viceroy is generally a British stateman of the first rank, and he is supported by the Commander-in-Chief, who is also a member of his Council, and by six other members of the Executive Council, three of whom are distinguished English officials, the other three being Indians. The Government of India is in constant touch with public opinion through the Assembly, the Council of State, the provincial legislatures and the local governments; and surely the Secretary of State, however gifted, cannot, sitting in Whitehall, be in a better position to deal with the administrative needs of India, with the advice of a few superannuated Englishmen and Indians, whose knowledge of the conditions in India must grow fainter and less real month by month. The

Secretary of State's Council might be safely abolished as an unnecessary burden on the tax-payers, especially as the High Commissioner has taken over many important duties which formerly devolved on the Secretary of State's Council. With rapid modern means of communication, the Secretary of State could be in the closest daily communication with the Viceroy and the Government of India; and, if necessary, on any important occasion, he could either himself come to India or ask the Viceroy, or any of his Councillors, to meet him at Whitehall. Again, the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations afford opportunities for consultation with delegates from India, which can be utilized to elucidate important questions of Indian policy. The Imperial Conference may be given a permanent constitution, with India represented on it on an adequate basis, so that it might be able to advise the British Parliament on questions relating to foreign policy, and on those affecting the relations between the different components of the British Empire.

The Government of India is concerned with what are strictly central subjects—such as the army, foreign relations, Native States, inter-provincial questions, communications and customs—and exercises general powers of co-ordination and supervision. However, at present, the rules are such that the local legislatures and the executives are unnecessarily hampered in dealing with matters which are really of provincial significance. They should be made autonomous in all provincial matters, in accordance with the intentions of the Government of India Act. I may here mention one glaring anomaly in Bengal, namely that the Calcutta High Court, unlike the High Courts of other presidencies and provinces, is treated as a Central Subject, so that arrangements for the administration of justice, in which the people are so intimately interested, are placed practically above the reach of public opinion.

The administrative task of the Government of India will be considerably lightened with furthur devolution of powers to local governments and legislatures, and the most important duties of the Central Government will be to deal with questions

of general policy relating to military matters, commerce, tariffs, customs and fiscal measures, currency and Indian finance, and also internal problems of a general character. It has been suggested that an element of responsibility should be introduced in the Government of India, which would mean division of subjects into reserved and transferred. Whether that is possible, and if so, how the subjects should be grouped, and whether the Ministers would have sufficiently important departments in their charge, with reference to which responsibility to the legislature would be of any advantage at all to the country, are matters requiring serious consideration. It will also have to be considered whether the Ministers should be made responsible to the Legislative Assembly alone, or to both the Assembly and the Council of State. Then another very important question arises—whether the Muslims of India or the British people would contemplate with equanimity the possibility of there being no Muslim in the Government of India.

The main question that is agitated with reference to the provinces is whether the local government should not be made entirely responsible to the legislature. This is a question of great difficulty, when one realizes its implications : for instance, whether it is intended that the Governor should be more or less a ceremonial dignitary representing the British Crown, or whether he should have any powers, and if so what powers, in the Government. The next important question is whether the provinces, or any of them, are prepared to do away with Englishmen in the Government; for that must be the inevitable effect, if the entire Government is made responsible to the legislature. In that connection, the position of Englishmen in the services will also require consideration : whether their services would be required, and if so, whether they would continue in the service after the English element has been removed from the Government. It has further to be ascertained whether there is justification for the doubt that has been raised on whether the English officers of the English and Indian regiments located in the provinces would support and, in case of necessity, take orders from the civil administration, when that administration has been denuded of its English presonnel. It has to be considered whether,

in the provinces, there is a fair chance of the legislature furnishing a stable Government; and if there is, whether the minority communities will acquiesce in the position if, as is likely, they are not represented in the Government at all or not to the extent they think it to be necessary to safeguard their interests. It is extremely probable that in the present circumstances only certain classes, such as landholders, capitalists and lawyers, will form the Government; and it requires consideration to see whether the activities of such a Government are likely to be beneficial or injurious to the interests of the ryots and labourers, who form the general population. If the latter, then it must be determined whether the extension of franchise will be a suitable remedy or what other remedies are possible. The above are some of the more important questions which will require considerable investigation, and which cannot be decided off hand. The result is that we reqire a strong committee, fully representative of the different communities and interests, to investigate the entire position, ascertain the opinion and desires of the people, on as large a scale as possible, in the different concrete political and administrative problems that may arise, and then recommend a constitution which will meet the requirements of the situation.

It is easy enough to define our political goal, and even to draw up a programme; but the most difficult thing is to secure the machinery and to get hold of the power with which to carry out our programme, so that we may reach the goal. I have indicated some of the more serious difficulties that we have to surmount. They surround us on every side. They are such that it is not possible for a few individuals, however gifted or self-sacrificing, to achieve much by way of overcoming them. The united efforts of all of us are needed, and these efforts must be co-ordinated. There should be no waste of energy and no clashing There is scope enough for a legion of workers in manifold capacities; we want a number of capable and earnest men to lead our activities in the different spheres of work. There need be no scramble for leadership, for I could immediately chalk out a programme of work worth anyone's ambition for a hundred and more Muslim leaders. Only let them not get unnecessarily into each other's way. In short, our first and foremost task is to

organize; and if that has any meaning, it means division of labour.

The Muslim World Outside India

I have only barely alluded to the happenings in the Muslim world outside India. All Muslims feel it keenly whenever a Muslim country is in danger. But the question as to what we should and can do to help is full of difficulties and complexities.

Ibn-i-Saud, according to the latest information, is now master of the situation in Hedjaz and it is said that in the governance of Hedjaz he is going to seek the assistance of Muslims of different countries. If so, we should proffer our hearty co-operation. In Persia we find that Raza Khan has assumed the role of Shah Should we rejoice over it on the ground that Persia has at last found a strong ruler who may be able to evolve order and national strength out of chaos and weakness, or should we mourn over the fact that democracy, or responsible government, or government by the people, of the people and for the people has suffered defeat? The gallant Riffs and the brave Druses have our greatest sympathy and admiration; but if we are to translate that sympathy and admiration into any measures of relief, the best thing we can do is to collect money and send it to Syed Ameer Ali, who will see to it that such relief as can be secured with the amount reaches the sufferers. The most disquieting news is the League of Nations' award on the Mosul question. The decision is pregnant with sinister possibilities affecting relations between England and Turkey; and let us fervently hope that what seems to be the desire of the bulk of the English people—not to push matters beyond the limits of friendly negotiations—will prevail. It is difficult to understand how a Conservative Government could have forgotten their Party's old traditions of friendship with Turkey; nor is it conceivable how it can benefit England to have anything to do with a tract of country which will prove ten times more troublesome to them than the North-West Frontier of India. It would surely be wiser in England's own interest to help Iraq find its proper place in a confederacy of Muslim States, rather than extend the Mandate

and make her position in the Near and the Middle-East still more complicated.

The Khilafat Committees led by Maulanas Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Khan Azad and others have taken charge of this department of work; and I have no doubt that, with their special knowledge and experience, they are in a better position to grapple with it than most people.

Political Organization and Education of Muslims

The *Tanzeem*, whose object, I understand, is to organize the Indian Muslims on a large scale, so that they may work out their destiny in diffent spheres of life and protect themselves from the attacks of such movements as the *Sangathan* and the *Shuddhi*, has, I believe, been founded by Dr. Kitchlew, who is devoting his time and best energies to this important work. It is a great task which he has undertaken, one in which he would require the ungrudging support of all who desire to help the community to maintain its integrity and position in the difficult times in which we live. He will evidently need a laige band of enthusiastic workers, and I hope he will get them.

I have already indicated to you the difficulties of the political work which is the main, if not the sole, objective of the All-India Muslim League. Men engaged in this class of work have to shoulder responsibility in the Government and the legislatures and to promote the political education of the community. All the three branches of work are important and none can be neglected without seriously injuring the rest. Nothing far-reaching can be achieved unless we seriously take in hand the political education of the people. In this sphere very little work is being done at present; and it is high time that we undertook the task in right earnest. What is most unsatisfactory, from the point of view of practical politics, is that we Muslims are an ill-organized body in the legislature, and if we cannot improve our position greatly in this respect, neither separate electorates nor Muslim Members and Ministers in the Government can save us. No time must be lost in forming a solid Muslim party in

the Indian as well as the local legislature. That is the essential and foremost need of the situation. If we succeed in meeting it, much of the rest will follow; without it, our political ruin as a community will be brought about by our own men. I say this without hesitation, because I have seen how, time after time, we have, owing to want of an organization among the Muslim Members of the Council, failed to profit by opportunities which in the political world, as we know, do not occur every day. And whenever we have been able to combine, we have at once achieved our object. We were able to secure a separate electorate for the Calcutta Corporation simply because we were able to unite and thus obtain the sympathy and support of non-official European Members of the Council. The Swarajists had not come in then to divide the Muslims among themselves. Even when the Swarajists had weakened our strength by one-half, the rest of the Muslims acting together were able to save the Dacca University, with the help of the Government block, the European non-officials and a group of Hindu Members.

I have never—not even in the most discouraging circumstances—wavered in my support of the principle of responsible government, because among its many advantages, it provides, under such proper safeguards as I have mentioned, the best possible forum where the needs, grievances and aspirations of weak communities can be publicly discussed and suitable redress obtained. But without adequate safeguards and a proper organization, responsible government in the present circumstances may well result in the political effacement of Indian Muslims. I beseech you therefore to organize your forces in the legislature to form a Muslim party with a reasonable and well-defined political programme. Have a leader in each legislature who will express the mind of the party. When you have settled your programme of work, give him instructions on every important point, but let him represent you as one united party before the world. We must choose a good man if we can find one, but even an indifferent man will do much with the party at his back. The essential need is that we should be united; and if we are, we have nothing to fea . A well-

organized Muslim party will secure victory on whichever side it throws its weight. If, on the other hand, we cannot organize a united Muslim party in the legislatures, the very object of communal representation will be defeated; for it presupposes that the community as such has views on important questions which can be best represented by men selected by itself. We must also always bear in mind that communal electorates do not exist solely, or even mainly, in order to deal with purely communal questions, but because it has been found necessary that the Muslims should have a fair chance, along with other communities, to contribute their political thought and energy to the development of the country, and at the same time to protect their own special interests. The Muslim party will of course daily be acting with other political parties. They may at times form a coalition with them, but they cannot merge their identity in other parties without considerably impairing their status and usefulness as representatives of the community.

In choosing their politica ally, they will have to find out which of the political groups will best help their measures; and the choice should be determined by a dispassionate consideration of all circumstances, and not under the sway of passions and prejudices. Let not matters extraneous to your practical programme of work warp your plan of action in the Council. You will not expect that any other party will hold identically the same views as yourselves on the general questions or...in some matters which interest you greatly...If that were not the position, there would have been no need for a separate party, still less for a separate communal electorate. There must be considerable give and take, and it is here that the political wisdom and strength of the party and its skill and capacity to negotiate will be severely tested. But as we know, success in such negotiations will depend on our solidarity as a party and our influence in the country. The latter depends on the political education of the community; and I know for certain that whatever be the dissensions and divisions in the ranks, where men are engaged in a mutually destructive and insane form of scramble for power, the Muslim community as a whole will far

more readily respond to political training than any other community in India. It is there that our true, but almost unexplored, strength lies. We want a band of devoted patriotic workers to utilize that tremendous power. This work can only be done by the younger generation in whom all our hopes centre, with such advice and help as we of the passing generation can give them. But for God's sake do not make their task—heavy enough as it will be—more burdensome and difficult by bequeathing them a tradition of petty narrow-minded squabbles. With even a fraction of our mass power, we can instantly stop that wild devil's dance in which some politicians are indulging, and then proceed smoothly with the great work of reconstruction in accordance with modern needs.

I have already indicated the important general problems in which we are as deeply and vitally interested as the rest of India's population. Some of them—such as those affecting the Constitution; the nature and extent of franchise; the allotment of seats in the legislature; the personnel of Government and the administration; constitution of self-governing bodies like municipalities, district and local boards; education in its various grades; relations between ryots and labouring classes, on the one hand, and landowners, capitalists and moneylenders, on the other; agricultural and industrial development, and so on—raise questions in which the interests of the Muslim community are either, more or less, in conflict with those of classes belonging mainly to other communities, or in which our community is more keenly interested than the others. Many of these special aspects of general political and administrative problems are of considerable importance to the community; and they require the careful attention, in the first instance, of Muslim legislators, for it is mainly through their help and advice that the legislature, as a whole, and the Government would be in a position to deal with them.

A Common Language : Hindi in the Arabic Script

Gentlemen, we must bear in mind that political measures are not the sole means of building up a nation. At present, we have

not even a vernacular name for the people of India, including Hindus, Muslims and others, nor a common language. I submit to all for serious consideration whether we should not be advancing a substantial step forward if, for instance, we called the Indian nation *Hindi* and aimed at a *Hindi* common language. Here we must have a compromise. I suggest that while we call the common language of India Hindi, we should use the Arabic script, one great advantage of which will be that it will put India on terms of easy communication with her neighbours, living in countries which after all supplied the most advanced elements of the Hindi and Muslim population. The *Devnagri* script is actually confined to some portions of India, and at best provides a key to a classical language—the Sanskrit whose unexampled beauty we all admire, but which, all the same, is a dead language. Some may use more Arabic and Persian in words, and others more Sanskrit words; but that will make no difference. My suggestion should satisfy both Hindu and Mohammedan sentiments; but I am not basing it on mere sentiment. I have been emboldened to make it by an earnest desire to think in national terms and to bring about a harmony of outlook.

Gentlemen, you will permit me, in concluding, to make it absolutely clear that anything I have said in condemnation of some movements and tendencies is confined to a certain class of Hindu politicians, and is to be constructed as intended, in any way, to reflect on the Hindu leaders generally or the Hindu community. I have numerous friends in the Hindu community all over India, and I may esp cially mention the happy recollection I have of the more than 12 years which I spent in Madras, the home of orthodox Hinduism, of the kinndess, cordiality and affection that I experienced from them from the very day I arrived till I left the last station in that Presidency. I have striven to set up, both before the Hindu and the Muslim communities, a higher ideal towards which our political vision must be steadily directed. These are times big with the fate of nations, and mark a turning point in the fortunes of our great country and our community, both of which have claims upon

your highest and disinterested patriotism. In such a time as this, all petty bickerings must cease; and if we differ in our opinion on any question, let us not forget that we do so in order to attain the self-same goal. It is neither by the English alone, nor by the Hindus or the Musalmans acting singly, but by the earnest and united efforts of all that the 300 millions of India's population can be led to a higher destiny.

PART II

BRITISH COLONIAL INTERPRETATIONS AND PRONOUNCEMENTS

We told the Musalmans that the Partition was a settled fact, and we over and over again asserted that it must continue to be so. We assured the Muslim population of Eastern Bengal of our appreciation of their loyalty and our determination to safeguard their interests. I should think there could have been scarcely a civil servant in India who had not declared that it would be impossible for the British Government to reverse the decision it had come to as regards the maintenance of the Partition of Bengal.

Lord Minto
(Statement in the House of Lords in
February, 1912)

21

POLICY OF DIVIDE AND RULE

I*

Gentlemen,—I have already received several addresses from important bodies and Associations since my arrival in Calcutta; but I do not know that among them any has been couched in language more felicitous, or has breathed sentiments more manifestly sincere, than yours. Perhaps that fact that you are the Committee of what I observe is styled a Literary Society may account for your proficiency in the former respect. Your experience of the good-will and just administration of the British Government has, I hope, inspired the feelings of loyalty and devotion to which I allude, I am acquainted with the history of your Society, which indeed is only a little younger in years than myself and with the admirable exertions of your late founder. A combination of the resources of Western knowledge and discovery with the teachings of Oriental learning is, as you say, the indispensable condition of an intellectual equipment which shall enable the cultured Mahomedan to hold his own in the competitive struggle of the modern world. Perhaps the Mahomedans of India have been for a while somewhat handicapped in the race by an inadequate supply of the facilities requisite for such a training; although the great institution founded, after a life-work of honourable activity, by the late Sir Syed Ahmed and kindred efforts organised or supported by yourselves, should enable you to recover the lost leeway, and to claim your share in the development of the inheritance of your forefathers. At the same

---

* Reply of Viceroy Lord Curzon to an Address of Welcome from the Mohammedan Literary Society on 13 January 1899.

time I am glad to hear you speak with legitimate pride of the wealth of Oriental literature as being included in your curriculum, because the acquisition of the resources of modern science, indispensable though it be, should blind no student to the substantial merits of the philosophy, the poetry, and ethics of bygone times. Imperfectly as these may conform to be standards of a more progressive age, they have yet contributed no inconsiderable quota to the moral elevation, as well as to the intellectual enjoyment of mankind. To any Mahomedan Literary Society, therefore, and more specially to yourselves, whose prestige and influence are so high, I would say, "Pursue your modern studies, but do not altogether neglect your ancient prophets and guides and remember that the fountains of an obsolete erudition have not infrequently distilled the precious drops of truth."

Gentlemen, no one with the smallest knowledge of India can be ignorant of the great part that has been played in its past by Mahomedan dynasties, Mahomedan literature, and Mahomedan customs. No one with the least appreciation of the present can ignore the powerful and stable element contributed to Indian society by the existing Mahomedan States and communities. I have, as you remark, been so fortunate as to visit on various occasions the courts of most of the principal Mussulman potentates of Asia, and I have, perhaps, thereby acquired some slight insight into the woi king of your institutions, as well as into the practical application of your religion. I am also aware that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, whose Representative in India I am privileged to be, is the Sovereign of a larger number of Mahomedans than any monarch in the world. All these considerations are an explanation of the peculiar interest which I feel in your community, and of the satisfaction which it gives me to receive your congratulations I accept your statement that upon any occasion of appeal I may implicitly rely upon the faithful allegiance of the Mahomedans of India. But I rejoice to think that the happy harmony existing between the various races and religions of this country, which is the glorious outcome of Her Majesty's reign, and the loyalty which is common to them all,

are likely, should any emergency ever arise, to enlist in her enthusiastic service not one section alone, but the whole of the peoples, and the votaries of every creed who own her sway. It will be with the utmost pleasure and with profound respect that I shall receive from you during my tenure of office any representations that you may care to address to me; and I confidently rely upon such communications to assist me in the task of government, as well as to broaden both my acquaintance and my sympathies with the Mahomedans of the Eastern world.

II*

Gentlemen,—Your words of welcome to me, upon my arrival in India, and entry upon the arduous duties of my office, are characterised by a sympathetic warmth to which my heart would be dull it it did not respond. The first essential point, in my opinion, to the orderly rule of a community of one race and religion, and still more of a community of many divergent races and religions, by a governing class of another origin and faith, is the recognition by both parties of that fellow-feeling which substitutes mutual respect for distrust, co-operation for antagonism, and kindliness for social indifference. There are many departments of life, both public and private, in which this spirit may manifest itself with advantage, whether in the official association which the free spirit of British Government opens with so liberal a hand, irrespective of birth or creed, to those who are well qualified among its citizens or in the more modest but not less obligatory amenities of every day subsistence. I apply these reflections, gentlemen, to a consideration of the topics to which you have especially called my attention. The education of Mahomedans and their employment in the higher as well as in the lower ranks of the State's service, and their adequate representation on public bodies on a scale proportionate to their numbers and capacity, have long been features of the declared public policy of the Government of India; but the equipment of these ends will

* Reply to an Address of Welcome of the Central National Mahommedan Association on 31 January, 1899.

is to secure that fair and proportionate representation which you legitimately claim. When the Public Service Commission reported some years ago, it was found that of 2,588 persons engaged in executive and judicial work, 1,866 or 72 per cent, were Hindoos, and 514, or 19 per cent, Mahomedans : proportions that very nearly corresponded to the actual proportions of Hindoos and Mahomedans in the total population of India at that time, which were respectively 75 and 20 per cent. A revised calculation would probably show figures even more favourable to your community. On the representation of Mahomedans on local bodies and District Boards I cannot speak from first hand knowledge; but local Governments are expected, in their appointment of nominated members to have regard to the due representation of classes and interests otherwise unrepresented; and I believe that they acknowledge and act up to this obligation. In the Legislative Councils I find that there are two Mahomedans in the Councils severally of Bengal, Bombay, and the Punjab; and one each in the Councils of Madras and the North-West Provinces. I have also the advantage of one Mahomedan colleague upon the Legislative Council of the Government of India. These figures are not fixed and there is no reason why they should not in your case, as in that of other constituent classes, correspond to the expanding capacity and power of the community. I may summarise what I have said by the remark that the symptoms of Mahomedan advance, educational and otherwise, seem to me to be encouraging; and by reminding you that, while your efforts are watched with a friendly eye by Government, the future rests for the most part in your own hands. I have not alluded, gentlemen, to the question of wakf properties, because I understand that you propose shortly to address a memorial to me on that subject. As regards a Moslem University in India, if it is intended to carry to a further stage the work already undertaken by the Aligarh College which has so abundantly justified its existence by the production of a number of first-class men, it is a project to which all must wish well. I am pleased, gentlemen, to have had the privilege of meeting you to-day; and I hope that the Deity whom we equally revere may look with blessing upon our respective labours.

III*

Gentlemen,—Your address differs from every other that has so far been presented to me in this important particular--that while, as you say, there are topics of special interest to you which you might have brought to my notice, anomalies or drawbacks that you might have pleaded to have redressed, urgent measures that you might have desired to recommend, you have refrained from pressing your views upon any such points, and have been content to swell the volume of generous acclamation which has greeted the assumption on my part of the Viceroyalty of India with a contribution which I count as inferior in interest or importance to none of those that I have previously received. Allow me in the same spirit, gentlemen, to thank you for your welcome, so gracefully extended to Lady Curzon as well as myself; to assure you, in my capacity as head of the Government, of my confidence in your loyalty—a loyalty which, as you remind me, you have not been slow to testify by personal service in the past—and to wish well to your exertions and interests in the future. You rightly observe that the community which you represent occupies a unique position, midway between the social extremes of Indian society. In my judgment this is a position which, while not unattended with difficulty, and while accompanied by apparent disqualifications, is yet endowed with some positive advantages. There are many functions in a social economy like that of India which can be best performed by those who have ties of blood with both the European and the indigenous peoples; and who to the bringing-up and associations of Englishmen, add the familiarity with native character, language, and habits of thought which descent from an Indian parentage, whether recent or remote, can scarcely fail to impart. In particular it seems to me that these faculties should find a ready field of employment in the mechanical industries which are being developed with so much rapidity in modern India, and not

* Reply of Viceroy Lord Curzon to an Address of Welcome presented by the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association.

least in Bengal. The fact that, on the one hand, Anglo-Indians, by their education and mode of life, are in touch with the European proprietors or managers of such enterprises, while, on the other hand, they must have a closer understanding of the interests and feelings of the native artisans than a foreigner can ever acquire, should render their services in many cases as foremen, or as intermediaries in some capacity or other between the two ranks, of great practical value. I am informed by those who can speak from an experience of many years that such has in many instances proved to be the case. I invite your attention, therefore, to this arena of honourable occupation for Anglo-Indian youths, and I would respectfully represent to your Association that great dignity, and no reproach, attaches to manual labour; and that the community that succeeds best in the world is that which most speedily determines its true adaptation to the environment in which it is placed.

IV*

Gentlemen,—The address which you have been good enough to present to me covers, I think, a wider field than any of those which it has been my agreeable task to receive and acknowledge during the past month. At the same time it is not one whit behind them in its sympathetic expressions of welcome and in the good wishes which it formulates for my administration. I need not either allude to or recapitulate expressions which have occurred in previous speeches of my own, and to which you have paid the compliment of quotation. I do not know that sentiments gain in intensity, even though they may earn a wider publicity, by frequent repetition; and I will therefore content myself on the present occasion with saying that I hold by what I have previously said, both of my anxiety to serve this country and its peoples, and of my deeply-rooted conviction that as Great Britain succeeds or fails in India, so to a large extent will

* Reply of Viceroy Lord Curzon to an Address of Welcome presented by the Indian Association.

she be judged by the High Court of History. If there is sound reason for not repeating this afternoon what I have so often been called upon to say elsewhere, I have been supplied by yourselves, gentlemen, with an equally valid reason for not advancing on to new or debatable ground. In your fourth paragraph you justly remark that it would be altogether out of place on an occasion like this to discuss the great public questions of the day, and that you would not be justified in soliciting an expression of my opinions with regard to them at so early a date. I observe with pleasure that your disclaimer in the former respect has not prevented you from conveying to me with considerable amplitude and with abundance of argument your own views on several of those topics. I say "with pleasure," because while you deprecate discussion or the premature extraction of any pronouncement from me, it must yet be an advantage to me to be made acquainted, as early as possible, with the attitude that is adopted towards these subjects by the important Association to which you belong. I take note, therefore, of what you say with regard to Local Self-Government, to the separation of Judicial and Executive functions and to the employment of the natives of India in the service of the State; and while deferring to your canon that any utterance on these questions is not at present called for from me, I may yet be at liberty to add that they are topics which have constantly occupied my attention, and will, no doubt, while I am in India, frequently come under my eye. I would observe, however, that they are questions, some of which are of a controversial character, and admit of a good deal of debate; and which are not settled, even though they be advanced, by a consideration of one side of the case only. It will be my duty to look into both sides, and to decide, so far as decision is called for, impartially, and without fear or favour. In the discharge of this duty I cannot always expect to carry with me the assent, or even the approbation, but I hope that I may at least never forfeit the respect, of the community which I regard as so high an honour, while energy and hope are still strong within me, to serve.

V*

It has given me much pleasure to receive at your hands the eloquent complimentary address to which I am now called upon to reply. In visiting the Punjab, no one who has the least acquaintance with the history of the past can fail to be aware that he is setting foot in a region which was once the seat of the Moslem Empire, powerful in its prime and magnificent even in its decay. The City of Lahore itself and its environs, with their still splendid relics of Mahomedan architecture, supply a witness not less proud than pathetic to this chapter of human history. The chapter is now concluded, and the sceptre and dominion have in this country and province passed away from Moslem hands. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable fact, and one that should be not without consolation to the followers of that faith, that although the Mogul Empire has long ceased to have any independent existence,—its prerogative and its possession are vested in a monarch whose sway extends over more Mahomedan subjects than any other ruler in the world, and who, in wresting from their ancestors the titular badge of sovereignty, has given them in return a personal security of life and property which even in the gorgeous days of Mogul dominion they can never be said to have enjoyed.

To me, who come here as the representative of the present illustrious occupant of that throne, it is especially pleasing to find that the Moslem community of the Punjab are conscious of these considerations, and through the medium of that important confraternity which has presented this address, are prepared to render such frank and forcible recognition thereto. When you speak of the inestimable benefits conferred upon India by British rule, the blessings of settled and civilised government, and the freedom of thought and belief which you owe to its dispensations I believe you to be recording not merely the facts of history, but your own sincere conviction. Such unsolicited testimony from so

* Reply of Viceroy Lord Curzon to an Address of Welcome presented by the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Lahore.

powerful a section of the community as that which your co-religionists represent, is a striking answer to the nonsense which I sometimes hear and read in print about an India bleeding under British rule, nonsense which, as far as I can judge, finds little echo in India itself, but it sometimes retailed at the safe distance of 7000 miles by perfervid orators upon English platforms. When further, you give utterance to the feelings of proud and affectionate loyalty which you entertain towards the Queen Empress, I believe you to be rendering not merely superficial homage of the lip, but, to be paying the heart's tribute of a grateful people. The knowledge, of which I am permitted to assure you, that from her distant home in England, Her Majesty is constantly making enquiries as to your welfare and interesting herself in scheme that have for their object your moral and educational progress, should stimulate the allegiance which already rests on solid foundations. I rejoice to hear that you will have before long in Lahore a visible reproduction of the person and features of that august sovereign; a memorial which, cast as it will be, in the imperishable material of bronze, will hand down, exempt from the ravages of decay, a personal monument of her just and benignant reign.

I notice with respectful sympathy the allusion made to the career and labours of your late leader, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The service of such men, pioneers, of their generation, is however, by no means confined to their life-time. A great and noble work has in itself a vitality independent of and greater than that of its creator, and while the visible spark of the ethereal flame that flickers in the mortal body is soon quenched and dies, its transmitted essence continues to burn brightly in the living products of human genius and imagination. It behoves the Mahomedans of the Punjab to carry on the work which was inaugurated by their departed leader, and to give to it permanence and durability which will be the most fitting monument to his memory. Your aim should be to recognise the realities of the modern world in which you live, which is a world of competition and flux and change, and instead of expecting your environment

to accommodate itself either to the traditions of the past or to the disabilities from which you may still suffer, to adapt yourselves by strenuous self-cultivation to the conditions which you have the capacity, if you will develop the resolution, to conquer. Here in the Punjab you are less than in other parts of India confronted with what you describe as the better equipped sections of the Indian people. You have an open field, upon which many of you have already won high and honourable distinction in the service of government. If you will perseveringly set yourselves to the acquisition of the learning which renders a man not a glib scholar but a useful citizen; if instead of musing over the past you will strain all your energies towards the future; and if in your own society and homes you will practise the elementary, but too often neglected, virtue of thrift, there is no reason why the Mahomedans of the Punjab should not recover a large measure of the influence which results not from territorial dominion but from the legitimate ascendancy of character and intelligence.

VI*

Gentleman,—You have presented me with an Address which certainly does not err on the side of brevity, and cannot be accused of rendering insufficient justice to your views. If I do not deprecate its unusual length, it is because I am not anxious to deprive any section of the community, that may properly claim to address the head of the Government, of an opportunity of presenting their case in their own way, and because I know the Mahomedans of this province to be a loyal, law-abiding and worthy body of men who no longer enjoy the advantages which they once possessed, and are, perhaps, entitled to feel some disappointment, though not, I think, any despondency, when they contrast their present with their former position. I am so entirely with them in the strenuous exertion that they are now making to recover their old prestige and influence that I willingly listen even to so detailed a narrative

* Reply of Viceroy of Lord Curzon to an Address of Welcome presented by the Mohommedan landlords.

of their efforts and their aspirations as that which has just been laid before me.

Into the historical part of your Address you will not expect me, gentlemen, to go. When Sind was conquered there was, I know, a prolonged discussion as to the best method of settlement to apply to the new province. It was ultimately decided to adopt the Bombay system. Whether this was or was not a right decision, I am not required to say; but when I remember that it was proposed by Sir Bartle Frere, the greatest of your Commissioners, and accepted by Sir John Lawrence, by no means the least of the Governors-General, I feel it would need no small presumption to dispute such a formidable consensus of authority.

You imply that the waste lands upon which assessments were levied under that settlement, were originally the property of the Zemindars. I hardly think this was the case. Under the Amirs of Sind, as under the British Government, the waste lands have always been regarded as the property of the Crown, subject to the preferential right on the part of adjoining proprietors. Leaving the past, your principal contention now is that the settlements in Sind should be for 30 years, as in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, instead of ten. When you make this request, do you not to some extent lose sight of the peculiar conditions of land tenure and cultivation in this province ? There is no part of India where these conditions are in a more transitional state. You have to deal here both with the benefits and with the caprices of that most unstable of factors—water. On the one hand, irrigation, where succesful, may convert a wilderness into a garden. On the other hand, the vagaries of the Indus may reduce a garden to a wilderness. In the one case, the continuance of a low assessment becomes obsolete : in the other case, a continuance of the high assessment is unfair, if property suddenly increases enormously in value owing to the digging of a canal. You cannot read just its contribution to public burdens by irrigation cesses, because, I understand, these expedients do not find favour in Sind. The only solution, therefore, in the present state of affairs, seems to

me to be a short period of settlement. Later on, as conditions become further crystallized a longer period will probably come. From such information as I have acquired, it does not appear to me to be true that frequent revision means a steady enhancement.

You next make a series of requests which I feel disposed to divide into two classes,—reasonable and unreasonable. In the first class I include those petitions which, even if they cannot always be granted can, at any rate, be defended. In the second class I place those which can neither be defended nor granted. When, for instance, you propose that the Dekhan Agriculturists Relief Act should be extended to Sind, in order to prevent the extinction of the small occupier and cultivator, you are making a demand as to which I do not know enough of the local conditions to say whether it ought to be conceded, but which, at any rate, is not inconsistent with the general principles of our agrarian policy, as testified both by the legislation which you desire to adopt and by the Bill which we passed at Simla last week to restrict the alienation of agricultural land in the Punjab. Again, when you ask that the Government should advance money for the liquidation of the liabilities of Zemindars under the Encumbered Estates Act, while you are asking for what it is in all probability quite impossible to give you, because we have not got money, and what does not seem to be altogether necessary, since I am unaware of any complaint on the part of creditors of inability to recover their debts yet you are asking for what is in principle only an extension of the existing relief which we give in the shape of takavi advances to the managers of encumbered estates. When, however, you proceed to ask that Mussulmans should, because they are Mussulmans, be relieved of the payment of fines under the law for unauthorised occupation of land and of occupancy prices for new land, such an acquisition being a valuable asset which there would be nothing to prevent the individual, who had acquired it for nothing, from selling again, to his own profit but to the loss of Government, and again compulsory assessment in the fifth year on hallow lands : when, I say, you put forward these requests you are asking for preferential advan-

tages which are unreasonable, and which no Government would dream of giving you. Again, when you ask for a fixed proportion of appointments in the public service and promotion, regulated not by merit but by a fixed numerical standard, you must see that you are advancing an untenable claim.

I belive there has never been wanting, among the administrators of this province, a most earnest desire to give you every possible encouragement; and you have yourselves recognised in your Address that you have never had a better friend than the present Commissioner, Mr. James. With your energetic and praiseworthy efforts, by the opening of Madrassahs and otherwise, to raise the educational level of your fellow-religionists, the Government, whether it be the Local Government or the Supreme Government, entertains the sincerest sympathy. It is a cheering spectacle to see a community, once so great and prosperous and so richly endowed with stability of intellect and force of character, lifting itself again in the world by patient and conscientious endeavour. But the pleasure of the spectacle is diminished and the chances of success are reduced, if those who are pluckily engaged in climbing the ladder cry out for artificial ropes and pulleys to haul them up. The Mohamedans of Sind have a glorious and memorable past, and they have it still in their power to carve out for themselves, without any such adventitious aid, a dignified and meritorious future.

Gentlemen, it has given me great pleasure to receive your friendly welcome and your loyal assurances, and not the least of my grounds of satisfaction in visiting Karachi at the present time has been that I have come here before the present Commissioner, Mr. James, has terminated his long and honourable career. That career has been marked by conspicuous and untiring service in the public weal. It has been surpassed in beneficent activity by those of none of his predecessors; and when Mr. James retires, as he will shortly do, he will carry away with him to his home in the mother country the affectionate esteem of a grateful province.

VII*

Three times have the Byculla Club honoured me with an invitation to a dinner. The first occasion was when I was leaving India at the end of my first term of office in April. 1904. The second was when I returned to India for my second term in December, 1905, and this is the third when I am finally departing. I have esteemed this triple compliment most highly. For, ordinarily, Bombay does not see or know much of the Viceroy, except what it reads in the newspapers, which is not perhaps uniformly favourable, and, with a Governor of your own, you cannot be expected to take as much interest in the head of the Supreme Government as other communities or places with which he is brought into more frequent contact. In respect of Bombay, however, I have been unusually fortunate in my time, for, apart from the four occasions of arrival or departure, I have been here once in Lord Sandhurst's and once in Lord Northcote's time, and again a week ago, so that this is my seventh visit in seven years. Here I made my first speech on Indian shores, and here it is not unfitting that I should make my last. Calcutta did me the honour of inviting me to a parting banquet, and so did the Civil Service of Bengal, and I was greatly touched by those compliments. But I felt that, having accepted your invitation, I owed a duty to you, and that I should only become a nuisance if I allowed myself either the luxury or the regret of too many farewells.

A Tribute to Bombay

Gentlement, it is no exaggeration to say that my several visits to this city have given me an unusual interest in its fortunes. I have seen it in prosperity, and I have seen it in suffering, and I have always been geatly stuck by the spirit and patriotism of its citizens. There seems to me to be here an excellent feeling between the very different races and creeds.

* Speech of Viceroy Lord Curzon delivered at the Byculla Club, Bombay, on 16 November 1905 on the occasion of his farewell banquet.

Bombay possesses an exceptional number of public spirited citizens and the sense of civic duty is as highly developed as in any great city that I know. If there is a big movement afoot, you bend yourselves to it with a powerful and concentrated will, and a united Bombay is not a force to be gainsaid. Let me give as an illustration the magnificent success of your reception and entertainment of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Moreover, you have the advantage of one of the best conducted and ablest newspapers in Asia. My recollections of Bombay are also those of uniform kindness towards myself—a kindness which has found active expression on each occasion that I have visited the city and that has culminated tonight in this splendid entertainment and in the reception that you have just accorded to my health.

As to the speech of the Chairman to which we listened just now, I hardly know what I ought to say. He seemed to me to be so familiar with all the details of my administration that I felt that if I ever wanted a biographer it is to Bombay and to the Byculla Club that I must come to find him. But his account of what I have done, or, perhaps I should rather say, endeavoured to do, was characterised by so generous an insistence on the best that I almost felt that a rival orator should be engaged to get up and paint the opposite side of the picture. I know of several who would have been prepared, without a gratuity, to undertake the congenial task; only in that case I should not perhaps have enjoyed the hospitality of this gathering. I must, therefore, leave things as they are and content myself with thanking the Chairman for his great and undeserved kindness in his treatment of the subject of his toast.

A Kindly Message of Farewell

Gentlemen, I have thus endeavoured to express acknowledgments of your kindness, and I must include in these acknowledgments those of Lady Curzon. Your gracious reference to her presence greatly touched my heart.

Gentlemen, I have expressed my acknowledgment of your

kindness. May I also take this opportunity, through you, of thanking all those communities and persons who from all parts of India have during the past three months showered upon me expressions of esteem and regret? I think I am justified in assuming both from the quarters from which they have emanated and also from the language employed that these have not been merely conventional expressions to a departing Viceroy, from whom no one in India has anything more to ask or to expect. His sun is setting, and another orb is rising above the horizon. If in these circumstances he receives, unexpected and unsought, from representative bodies and Associations, from the leaders of races and communities, from Princes and from unknown humble men such messages couched in such unaffected language as have crowded in upon me, while he cannot but feel very grateful for all this kindness, there may also steal into his mind the comforting reflection that he has not altogether laboured in vain, but has perhaps left some footprints that will not be washed out by the incoming tide.

A Seven Years' Retrospect

Gentlemen, it is almost seven years ago that I stood upon the neighbouring quay on the morning that I landed to take up my new office. Well do I remember the occasion and the scene, the Bunder, gay with bunting and brilliant with colour, the background of the acclaiming streets with their tens of thousands and the setting of the stateliest panorama in Asia. I do not deny that to me it was a very solemn moment. For I was coming here to take up the dream of my life and to translate into fact my highest aspirations. In that spirit I endeavoured to respond to the Address of the Corporation, and were I landing again tomorrow I would use the same language again. Oceans seem now to roll between that day and this—oceans of incident and experience, of zest and achievement, of anxiety and suffering, of pleasure and pain. But as I stood then that morning and the vista spread out before me, I said that I came to India to hold the scales even; and as I stand here to-night, seven years later, I dare to say in all humility that I have done it. I have held

the scales even between all classes and all creeds, sometimes to my detriment, often at a cost that none but myself can tell, but with such truth and fidelity as in me lay. I further said that the time for judgment was not when a man puts on his armour, but when he takes it off. Even now I am fast unbuckling mine. In a few hours the last piece will have been laid aside. But, gentlemen, the test, can I survive my own test? The answer to that I must leave to you among many others, and by your verdict I am willing to abide.

What is the Viceroy of India

Gentlemen, when I came here seven years ago I had some idea, but not perhaps a very complete idea, of what the post of Viceroy of India is. Now that I am in a position to give a more matured opinion to the subject I may proceed to throw a little light upon it. There are, I believe, many people at Home who cherish the idea that the Viceroy in India is the representative of the Sovereign in much the same way as Viceroys or Governors-General in other parts of the British Empire, except that India, being in the East, it is considered wise to surround him with peculiar State and ceremonial, while in a country which is not a constitutional Colony but a Dependency, it is, of course, necessary to invest him with certain administrative powers. No conception of the Viceroy's position and duties could well be wider of the mark. Certainly the proudest and most honourable of his functions is to act as representative of the Sovereign, and this act is invested with universal solemnity and importance in a society organised like that of India upon the aristocratic basis, where the Throne is enveloped in an awe that is the offspring of centuries and is supported by princely dynasties, in many cases as old as itself. The consciousness of this responsibility should, I think, always act both as a stimulus and as a check to the Viceroy—a stimulus to him to act in a manner worthy of the exalted station in which for a short time he is placed, and a check to keep him from inconsiderate or unworthy deeds. But that is, of course, only the beginning of the matter. The Viceroy very soon finds out that the purely

Viceregal aspect of his duties is the very least portion of them, and the Court life in which he is commonly depicted by ignorant people as revelling occupies only the place of a compulsory background in his every-day existence. He soon discovers that he is the responsible head of what is by far the most perfected and considerable of highly organised Governments in the world. For the Government of China, which is supposed to rule over a larger number of human beings, can certainly not be accused of a high level of either organisation or perfection. So much is the Viceroy the head of that Government that almost every act of his subordinates is attributed to him by public opinion, and if he is of an active and enterprising nature a sparrow can scarcely twitter its tail at Peshawar without a response being detected to masterful orders from Simla or Calcutta. This aspect of the Viceroy's position makes him the target of public criticism to a degree in excess, I think, of that known in any foreign country, except perhaps America. I think that in India this is sometimes carried too far. When the Viceroy speaks he is supposed to remember only that he is the representative of the Sovereign. But when he is spoken or written about, it is commonly only as head of the administration, and then nothing is sometimes too bad for him.

A Viceroy's Many Duties

I only make these remarks because this seems to me rather a one-sided arrangement, and because I think anything to be deprecated that might deter your Viceroys from taking the supreme and active part in administration which it seems to me, to be their duty to do. You do *not* want them to be faineants or figureheads. You want them to pull the stroke oar in the boat. You want English Ministers to send you their very best men, and then you want to get out of them not the correct performance of ceremonial duties, but the very best work of which their energies or experiences or abilities may render them capable. Anything, therefore, that may deter them from such a conception of their duties or confine them to the sterile pursuit of routine is, in my view, greatly to be deplored.

However, I am only yet at the beginning of my enumeration of the Viceroy's tale of bricks. He is the head not merely of the whole Government, but also of the most arduous Department of Government, *viz.*, the Foreign Office. There he is in the exact position of an ordinary Member of Council, with the difference that the work of the Foreign Department is unusually responsible, and that it embraces three spheres of action so entirely different and requiring such an opposite equipment of principles and knowledge as the conduct of relations with the whole of the Native States of India, the management of the Frontier Provinces and the handling of the Frontier tribes and the offering of advice to His Majesty's Government on practically the entire foreign policy of Asia, which mainly or wholly concerns Great Britain in its relation to India. But the Viceroy, though he is directly responsible for this one Department, is scarcely less responsible for the remainder. He exercises over them a control which is in my judgment the secret of efficient administration. It is the counter part of what used to exist in England but has died out since the days of Sir Robert Peel, with consequences which cannot be too greatly deplored. I earnestly hope that the Viceroy in India may never cease to be head of the Government in the fullest sense of the term. It is not one-man rule, which may or may not be a good thing. That depends on the man. But it is one-man supervision which is the very best form of Government, presuming the man to be competent. The alternative in India is a Bureaucracy which is the most mechanical and lifeless of all forms of administration. To continue, the Viceroy is also the president of the Legislative Council, where he has to defend the policy of Government in speeches which are apt to be denounced as empty if they indulge in platitudes, and as undignified if they do not. He must have a financial policy, an agricultural policy, a famine policy, a plague policy, a railway policy, an educational policy, an industrial policy and a military policy. Everybody in the country who has a fad or a grievance—and how many are there without either ?—hunts him out. Every Public Servant who wants an increase of pay, allowances or pension—a not

inconsiderable band—appeals to him as the eye of justice. Everyone who thinks he deserves recognition, appeals to him as the fountain of honour. When he goes on tour he has to try to know nearly as much about local needs as the people who have lived there all their lives, and he has to refuse vain requests in a manner to make the people who asked them feel happier than they were before. When he meets the merchants he must know all about tea, sugar, indigo, jute, cotton, salt and oil. He is not thought much of unless he can throw in some knowledge of shipping and customs; and in some places electricity, steel and iron and coal are required. For telegraphs he is supposed to have a special partiality, and he is liable to be attached about the metric system. He must be equally prepared to discourse about labour in South Africa or labour in Assam. The connecting link between him and Municipalities is supplied by water and drains. He must be prepared to speak about everything and often about nothing. He is expected to preserve temples, to keep the currency steady, to satisfy third-class passengers, to patronise race meetings, to make Bombay and Calcutta each think that it is the Capital City of India, and to purify the Police. He corresponds with all his Lieutenants in every Province, and it is his duty to keep in touch with every local Administration. If he does not reform everything that is wrong, he is told that he is doing too little: and if he reforms anything at all, that he is doing too much.

"*The Puppet of the Home Government*"

I am sure that I could occupy quite another five minutes of your time in depicting the duties which you require of the Viceroy in India, and to which I might have added the agreeable finale of being entertained at complimentary banquets. But I have said enough, perhaps to show that it is no light burden that I am now laying down, and that it is not perhaps surprising if seven years of it should prove enough for any average constitution. And yet I desire to say on this parting occasion that I regard the office of Viceroy of India, inconceivably laborious as it is, as the noblest office in the gift of the

British Crown. I think the man who does not thrill upon receiving it with a sense, not of foolish pride, but of grave responsibility, is not fit to be an Englishman. I believe that, the man who holds it with devotion and knows how to wield the power wisely and well, as so many great men in India have done, can for a few years exercise a greater influence upon the destinies of a large number of his fellow-creatures than any head of all Administration in the universe, I hold that England ought to send out to India to fill this great post the pick of her statesmen and that it should be regarded as one of the supreme prizes of an Englishman's career. I deprecate any attempt, should it ever be made, to attenuate its influence, to diminish its privileges or to lower its prestige. Should the day ever come when the Viceroy of India is treated as the mere puppet or mouthpiece of the Home Government, who is required only to carry out whatever orders it may be thought desirable to transmit, I think that the justifications for the post would have ceased to exist. But I cannot believe that the administrative wisdom of my countrymen, which is very great, would ever tolerate so great a blunder.

The Main Principles of His Rule

And now, gentlemen, after this little sketch of the duties of a Viceroy you may expect to hear something of the manner of fulfilling them. I have been told that on the present occasion I am expected to give a sort of synopsis of the last seven years of my administration. I am sure you will be intensely relieved to learn that I intend to disappoint those expectations. Lists of laws or administrative acts or executive policies may properly figure in a Budget speech; they may be recorded in an official minute; they may be grouped and weighed by the historian. But they are hardly the material for an after-dinner oration. Besides which I have been spared the necessity of any such review by the generous ability with which it has already been performed for me by the Press. Inasmuch however, as all policy that is deserving of the name must rest upon certain principles, you will permit me to point out what are the main principles that have underlain everything

to which I have set my hand in India. They are four in number.

The Need for Definite Policy

The first may sound very elementary, but it is in reality cardinal. It is the recognition that for every Department of the State and for every branch of the Administration there must be a policy instead of no policy, *i.e.*, a method of treating the subject in question which is based upon accepted premises either of reasoning or experience and is laid down in clear language, understood by the officers who have to apply it and intelligible to the people to whom it is to be applied. It is in fact the negation of a policy of drift. Years ago I remember coming to India and commencing my studies of the Frontier question. I enquired of everyone I met what was the Frontier policy of the Government of India. I even mounted as high as Members of Council. No one could tell me. I found one view at Calcutta, another at Lahore, another at Peshawar, and another at Quetta, and scores of intervening shades between. That is only an illustration, but that absence of a policy cost India thousands of lives and crores of rupees. Of course, in our attempt to fashion or to formulate policies, my colleagues and I may not always have been successful. Our policy need not have been uniformly right. We make no such claim. All that we say is that the policy is now there, not hidden away or enshrouded in hieroglyphics but emphatically laid down, in most cases already given to the world, and in every case available for immediate use. There is not a single branch of the Administration, internal or external of which, I believe, that this cannot truthfully be said. I will give you a few illustrations drawn from spheres as widely separated as possible. Take foreign affairs, The Government of India can hardly be described as having a foreign policy of their own, because our foreign relations must necessarily be co-ordinated with those of the Empire. But we can have our views and can state them for what they are worth, and there are certain countries in the close neighbourhood of our Frontiers where the conduct of affairs is necessarily in our hands. Thus in respect of Tibet,

the Government of India have throughout had a most definite policy which has not perhaps been fully stated in published correspondence, but which I have not the slightest doubt will vindicate itself and that before long. Similarly, with regard to Afghanistan our policy throughout my term of office has been directed to clearing up all the doubts or misunderstandings that have arisen out of our different agreements with the late Amir, and to a renewal of those agreements, freed from such ambiguity, with his successor. It was to clear up these doubts that the Mission was sent to Kabul, as the Amir found himself unable to carry out his first intention to come down to India; and for all the widespread tales that the Mission had been sent to press roads or railroads or telegraphs and all sorts of unacceptable conditions upon the Amir, from which the Government of India or myself were alleged to have been only with difficulty restrained by a cautious Home Government, there was never one shred of foundation. Perhaps in Persia, a subject which is perhaps, better appreciated and is certainly better written about in Bombay than in any other City of the Empire, we have been able to do most in respect of a positive and intelligible policy. Resting upon Lord Lansdowne's statesman-like and invaluable dictum as to the Persian Gulf, from which I trust that no British Government will ever be so foolish as to recede, we have been able to pursue a definite course of action in defence of British interests at Muscat, Bahrein, Koweit and throughout the Persian Gulf. The same applies to Mekran and Seistan, and I believe that I leave British interests in those quarters better safeguarded than they have ever before been.

I will not trouble you further about. Foreign affairs to-night, though I might take you round the confines of the Indian Empire and show you an Aden boundary determined largely owing to the ability of the Officers serving under my noble friend (Lord Lamington), our relations with Sikkim and Bhutan greatly strengthened, and the final settlement of the China-Burmese boundary practically achieved. Neither will I detai' you about the tribal Frontier of India, although the fact that I can dismiss this almost in a sentence is perhaps

more eloquent than any speech could be. The point is that the Government of India, the local officers and the tribesmen now know exactly what we are aiming at, namely, in so far as we are obliged to maintain order to keep up communications or to exert influence in the tribal area to do it, not with British troops but through the tribes themselves. The other day I saw the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province and asked him if he could sum up the position of the Frontier. "Yes," he replied, "I can in a single word, and that is confidence"—confidence at Hunza, confidence at Chitral —which when I came out to India I was told by the Pandits at Home that I should have to evacuate in 2 years, but which is now as tranquil as the compound of the Byculla Club—confidence in the Khyber and the Kurram, confidence all down the Frontier of Baluchistan. Gentleman, that is no mean boast. I observe that all the persons, who have for years depicted me as a somewhat dangerous person and who were kind enough to warn India seven years ago of the terrible Frontier convulsions that she was in for under my rule, have found it a little difficult to account for the seven years of peace that has settled down on the land. Two explanations have, however, lately been forthcoming. The first is that the tribes were so severely handled by my predecessor that they have not had a kick in them left for me. The second is that having concentrated all my unholy propensities in the direction of Tibet, where, however for some unexplained reason I did not begin until I had been in India for four years, I had nothing left for the tribes. I do not think that I need be disturbed by either of these criticisms. I can hand over the Frontier to my successor with the happy assurance not only that matters are quiet but that the principles determining our action, whether as regards tribal Militia or Border Military Police or Frontier roads and railways, or tribal control, are all clearly laid down and are understood. If these principles are departed from, if the Government of India were to go in for a policy of cupidity or adventure, then the confidence of which I have spoken would not last a month. Otherwise I do not see why it should not be enduring.

His Military Policy

We have also for seven years pursued a very consistent military policy, not differing therein in the least from the distinguished men who preceded us, but using the much larger opportunities that have been presented to us by recurring surpluses, to carry out measures of which they often dreamed but which they had not the funds to realise. I am not one of those who think that the Indian Army is a bad one. I believe it to be by far the best portion of the Forces of the British Crown, and certainly such work as it has been my duty to ask it to undertake, whether in South Africa or China or Somaliland or Tibet, has been as good as any in the history of the Empire. We have done a good deal to render the Army, I will not say more efficient, but more effective. We have entirely re-armed every section of it; we have re-organised the Horse and Field Artillery from top to bottom; we have created a new Transport organisation; we are now making our own gunpowder, rifles, gun carriages and guns; we have added 500 British Officers and are proposing to add 350 more; we are doubling the Native Army Reserves, and all these measures are independent of the schemes of reorganisation and redistribution of which you heard so much. If due attention continues to be paid to the idiosyncrasies of the Native Army, and if it is treated sympathetically, I believe that we shall continue to receive from it the splendid level of service which is its tradition and its glory.

His Internal Policy

In the sphere of internal politics we have adopted a slightly different method, though with the same end; for there we have, as a rule, not framed our policy without a most exhaustive preliminary examination of the data upon which it ought to rest, conducted by the most expert authorities whose services we could command. Thus we did not proceed to draw up a plague policy until the Plague Commission had reported. Our new Famine Codes and manuals, the methods by which the Government of India will grapple with

the next famine when it comes, and the preventive methods which we have been bringing into operation, one by one, are the result of the Commission over which Sir Antony Macdonnell presided. The great programme of Irrigation schemes for the whole of India to which we have committed ourselves, at a cost of £ 30 millions in twenty years, was similarly not arrived at until Sir Colin Moncrieff's Commission had spent two winters in India. I did not undertake University Reform until I had carefully sifted the facts of the case by a Commission upon which the highest authorities had seats. Nor did we charge ourselves with the reform of the Police until we had conducted a most searching enquiry into the facts of existing administration in every Province by Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission. Finally, we did not propose to create a Railway Board or to revolutionise our Railway management until we had obtained the advice of an expert from Home. Thus where possible, we have proceeded upon the same plan; firstly, the ascertainment from the information at our diposal, from the representations of the public and from the known facts, that there was a case for reform; secondly the appointment of an influential and representative body to go round the country and take evidence; thirdly, the critical examination of their Report, accompanied by consultation of Local Governments and of public opinion; fourthly, the accomplished reform. I remember very well—I dare say you do also, gentlemen—when the present Administration was ridiculed as one of Commissions that were always sitting but whose eggs never hatched out, I held my peace; but I sat all the harder. Time was all I wanted, and now I can say that not a single Commission has sat and reported in my time without its results having been embodied with the least possible delay in administrative measures, or in legislative Acts If you want to know the educational policy of Government you can find it in the published Resolution of March, 1904. I recapitulated it in a recent farewell speech at Simla. If you want to know our Land Revenue policy it is similarly enunciated in two published Resolutions dealing with the principles of assessment and

collection, which will presently be followed by two others dealing with subsidiary branches of the question. There will then be a corpus or Code of Land Revenue Law and policy such as has never previously existed in India, and which will constitute a charter for the cultivating classes. If you want to know our Fiscal Policy it is contained in the published Despatch of October, 1903. Thus, wherever you turn, I think you will find my claim justified, the case examined, the principles elucidated, the policy laid down, action taken and already bearing fruit.

"The Real People of India"

The second principle that I have held in view has been this : amid the numerous races and creeds of whom India is composed, while I have sought to understand the needs and to espouse the interest of each, to win the confidence of the Princes, to encourage and strengthen the territorial aristocracy, to provide for the better education and thus increase the opportunities of the educated classes, to stimulate the energies of Hindus, Mahomedans, Buddhists and Sikhs and to befriend those classes, like the Eurasians, who are not so powerful as to have many friends of their own, my eye has always rested upon a larger canvas crowded with untold numbers, the real people of India, as distinct from any class or section of the people. "But Thy poor endure and are with us yet; be. Thy name a sure refuge for Thy poor whom men's eyes forget." It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent, who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget, to whom I refer. He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, not even in the squalor of great cities. He reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all. He has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country; by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled; from his labour comes one-

fourth of the national income; he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard. It is for him in the main that we have twice reduced the salt-tax, that we remitted the land revenue in two years amounting to nearly 2½ millions sterling, for him that we are assessing the land revenue at a progressively lower pitch and making its collection elastic. It is to improve his credit that we have created Co-operative Credit Societies so that he may acquire capital at easy rates and be saved from the usury of the money-lender. He is the man whom we desire to lift in the world, to whose children we want to give education, to rescue whom from the tyranny and oppression we have reformed the Indian Police and from whose cabin we want to ward off penury and famine. Above all, let us keep him on the soil and rescue him from bondage or expropriation. When I am vituperated by those who claim to speak for the Indian people I feel no resentment and no pain. For I search my conscience and I ask myself who and what are the real Indian people and, I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to do something to alleviate theirs and that I leave them better than I found them.

The Attitude of Educated India

As for the educated classes I regret if, because I have not extended to them political concessions, more places on Councils and so on, I have in any way incurred their hostility, for I certainly in no wise return it. And when I remember how impartially it is bestowed on every Viceroy, in the latter part of his term of office, I conclude that there must be something wrong about all of us which brings us under a common ban. I also remember that in a multitude of ways, even as regards places and appointments, I have consistently befriended and championed their cause. That I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so, and if I have incurred odium for thus doing my duty, I have no apology to advance. And yet in one respect I venture to think that the classes of whom I am speaking have found in me their best friend, for I have endeavoured to pursue with

them the third principle of action to which I before alluded, *viz.*, to be frank and outspoken; to take them into open confidence as to the views and intentions of the Government, to profit by public opinion instead of ignoring it, not to flatter or cozen, but never to mystify or deceive. I have always held that Governors are the servants of the public and that policies are not such high and holy things as not to admit of clear exposition and candid argument for all who care to hear. I cannot say that I have everywhere been rewarded for this confidence, but I have pursued it as part of a definite policy, for there has not been an act or an aim of Government whose sincerity I have not been prepared to vindicate, and to me there is something manlier in treating your critics with respect than in pretending that you are unaware even of their existence.

Looking Ahead

And my last principle, Gentlemen, has been everywhere to look ahead, to scrutinise, not merely the passing requirements of the hour but the abiding needs of the country, and to build, not for the present but for the future. I should say that the one great fault of Englishmen in India is that we do not sufficiently look ahead. We are so much absorbed in the toil of the day that we leave the morrow to take care of itself. But it is not to-morrow only but 20 years hence and 100 years hence. That is the thought that has never left my mind. I have had no ambition to cut Gordian knots or to win ephemeral triumphs. I am content that all my work should go that is not fitted to last. Some of it will go of course. But I hope that a solid residuum may remain and take its place as a part of the organic growth of Indian politics and Indian society. To leave India permanently stronger and more prosperous, to have added to the elements of stability in the national existence, to have cut out some sources of impurity or corruption, to have made dispositions that will raise the level of administration, not for a year or two but continuously, to have lifted the people a few grades in the scale of well-being, to have enabled the country or the Government better to

confront the dangers or the vicissitudes of the future, that is the statesman's ambition. Whether he has attained it or not will perhaps not be known until long after he has disappeared.

Resignation for Great Principles

I need say but few words about my resignation or the causes that led to it. I desire only to mention one cause that did not. It seems to have been thought in some quarters at Home that this was a personal quarrel and that I resigned on personal grounds No one who has the least acquaintance with the facts of the case and, I would fain hope, no one who has any acquaintance with myself could commit this error. The post of Viceroy of India is not one which any man fit to hold it would resign for any but the strongest reasons. When you remember that to me it was the dream of my childhood, the fulfilled ambition of my manhood, and my highest conception of duty to the State, when further you remember that I was filling it for the second time, a distinction which I value much less for the compliment than for the opportunity afforded to me of completing the work to which I had given all the best of my life, you may judge whether I should be likely, heedlessly or impulsively, to lay it down. Now, Sir, there is not a man in this room who does not know that I resigned for a great principle or rather for two great principles, firstly the hitherto uncontested, the essential and, in the long run, the indestructible subordination of Military to Civil authority in the administration of all well-conducted States, and, secondly, the payment of due and becoming regard to Indian authority in determining India's need. I am making no vain boast when I say that in defending these principles, as I have sought to do, and in sacrificing my position sooner, than sacrifice them, I have behind me the whole of the Civil Services in India, the unanimous weight of non-official English opinion in this country, an overpowering preponderance of Indian opinion, and I will add, which is more significant still, the support of the greater part of the Indian Army. I have not one word to say in derogation of those who may hold

opposite views, but, speaking for the last time as Viceroy of India, I am entitled to say, why in a few hours I shall cease to be Viceroy of India, and I am also entitled to point out that in speaking for the last time as Viceroy of the country which I have administered for nearly seven years, I am speaking, as I believe that no single one of my predecessors has ever been able to do to a similar extent, with the whole of that country behind me, and, Gentlemen, you may depend upon it, the principles have not vanished though they have momentarily disappeared. They will reappear and that before very long.

The New Viceroy

It is a much pleasanter subject to turn from myself to the nobleman whose ship is hourly drawing nearer to these shores and who, the day after to-morrow, will take over the task that I lay down. It is a pleasure to me to be succeeded by a lifelong friend; but it is a much greater pleasure to know that India will gain a Viceroy of ripe experience, of a strong sense of duty, of sound judgment and of great personal charm. I hope that the rough seas through which I have sometimes ridden may leave smooth waters in which his keel may glide, and from the depth of my heart I wish him a tranquil and triumphant Viceroyalty.

His Love for India

And now as the moment comes for me to utter the parting words, I am a little at a loss to know what they should be. A week ago a man said to me "Do you really love India ?" I could not imagine if he was jesting. "Love India," I replied; "why otherwise should I have set myself adrift from my own country for the best seven years of my life ? Why should I have given to this country the best of my poor health and strength ? Why should I have come back in the awful circumstances of a year ago ? Why should I have resigned my office sooner, than see injury done to her now ?" "Good," he said, "I was merely trying you—I knew it as well as everyone else." Gentlemen, you all know it. There is not a man in this room, there is not an impartial man

in India, there is not a Bengali patriot who now denounces me for giving him the boon for which he will one day bless my name, who does not know that no Englishmen ever have left it more resolved, to the best of his humble abilities and strength, to continue to do justice in England to India—India who after 200 years still stands like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn, so little understood, so little known. She stands in need as much as ever—perhaps more than ever—when such strange experiments are made by many whose knowledge of her does not extend beyond the fringe of her garment, of being championed and spoken for and saved from insult or defamation. Perhaps my voice for India may not always be identical with that of all her sons, for some of them, as I have seen, speak very differently from me. But it will be a voice raised on behalf, not of a section or a faction, but, so far as the claim may be made, of all India, and, in any case, it will be of an India whose development must continue to be a British duty, whose fair treatment is a test of British character and whose destinies are bound up with those of the British race. So far as in me lies. It will be a voice raised in the cause of Imperial justice and fair dealing, and, most of all, of seeing that Indian interests are not bartered away, or sacrificed, or selfishly pawned in the financial or economic adjustments of the Empire.

A Lofty Ideal

A hundred time in India have I said to myself, "Oh that to every Englishman in this country as he ends his work might be truthfully applied the phrase 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity.'" No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps, there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right to abhor the imperfect, the unjust or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery, or applause, or odium, or abuse—it is so easy to have any of hem in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your

courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice, or happiness, or prosperity, a sense of manliness, or moral dignity, a sense of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment as a stirring of duty where it did not before exist that is enough—that is the Englishman's justification of India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, and for his epitaph when he is gone. I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge.

22

POLICY OF COUNTERPOISES*

I am drawing to an end; but I am not sure that the end is not the most important part of what I have to say. I have heard a thousand times that India is an insoluble problem. Well, the man who runs away from problems called "insoluble" is not fit for politics. I have generally found, as I dare say some of my right hon'ble friends have found, that what is called an insoluble problem is after all a problem wrongly stated. Here we have a new Parliament. I respectfully invite the new Parliament of today to look at the India of today with a clear, firm and steadfast gaze. I have only been in office a very few months, but I will say of myself—and I hope it will not seem egoistic—that I have lost no opportunity of placing myself in contact with as many people as possible from India, people of every type, of every class, likely to take a very different point of view . . . I have done my best to read the signs of today in India, and it is for the India of today that the Government and this House are responsible . . . What I seem to discern are not at all the symptoms of crisis. I do not see or hear demands for violent or startling new departures. What I do see is a stage reached in the gradual and inevitable working out of Indian policy, which makes it wise and in the natural order of things—and I do not at all despair of securing the noble Lords' agreement to this—that we should advance with a firm, courageous, and intrepid step some paces further on the path of continuous, rational improvement in the Indian system of government. Everyone—soldiers, travellers and journalists—they all tell us

---

* Excerpts for the speech of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, in the House of Commons on 20 July, 1906.

that there is a new spirit abroad in India. Be it so. How could you expect anything else? You have now been educating the peoples for years with Western ideas and literature. You have already given them facilities for communication with one another. How could you suppose that India would go on just as it was when there was little higher education, and when the contact between one part and another was difficult and infrequent? How could you think that all would go on as before? As for education, let the House think of this little fact. There is this year a Senior Wrangler from India; and I was told by the Master of Trinity that he was Senior Wrangler after two years' residence when all the others in the class had three years' residence. I mention that as showing that you cannot go on narrowly on the old lines. We should be untrue to all the traditions of this Parliament and to those who from time to time and from generation to generation have been the leaders of the Liberal Party, if we were to show ourselves afraid of facing and recognizing the new spirit with candour and consideration. I said something about the Indian Princes. It is a question whether we do not persist in holding these powerful men too lightly. Then there is the Congress. I do not know that I agree with all that the Congress desires; but speaking broadly of what I conceive to be at the bottom of the Congress, I do not see why anyone who takes a cool and steady view of Indian Government should be frightened. I will not at once conclude that because a man is dissatisfied and discontented, therefore, he is disaffected. Our own reforms and changes have been achieved by dissatisfied men who were no more disaffected than you or I. If there be disaffection--and there may be some—I will not, as far as I have anything to do with the Government of India, play the game of disaffection by exaggerating the danger or by over readiness to scent mischief.

There have been two books recently written about India by gentlemen who accompanied the Prince of Wales, which I would respectfully recommend hon'ble members to read. One of these books "Through India with the Prince" is by Mr. Abbot, and the other is by a gentleman, Mr. Sidney Low of

proved competence in political subjects. Mr. Low is a man who knows what he is writing about, and he says : "The journey of the Prince of Wales showed clearly that there is a deep and widespread attachment to the Imperial House among the Indian people; and even where there is discontent with the mode of Government, there is no feeling against the Throne. Calcutta, when the Prince of Wales visited it, was in the trough of a furious agitation against the Partition of Bengal—an agitation which on one occasion had caused every native shop to be closed in the city as a sign of mourning, yet when the Prince appeared amongst this angry populace, he was received not only with cordiality, but even with demonstrative enthusiasm."

I am not going, and I hope the House is not going, to be easily frightened when it finds such a state of things, together with other facts which are no doubt disagreeable. But that is what politics are. There is a constant ebb and flow of feeling in the countries where there is any political life, and this shows that political life is stirring in India. I deprecate this bandying between different schools of Indian opinion of charges and epithets. One says, "Sundried bureaucrats" and the other says, "Pestilent agitators". But the duty of the Viceroy, of the Secretary of state and of the House of Commons is to rise well above that sort of things. An observation—and a just and salutary observation has been made that we should not adopt an attitude of hawkish or maudlin sentimentality, but a manly desire to understand and comprehend those whom, for good or for evil, we have undertaken to govern. We have not ourselves to blame for the great division that separates the European from the Native Indian. I have sometimes wondered why those who now agitate for political reforms do not turn their eyes to social reforms. But there is a root of statesmanship as well as of humanity contained in the lines "Hath not a Jew eyes ? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, affections and passions ?" That is what I should like to make the foundation of the education of our competition-wallahs. It was well said once that "great thoughts come from the heart"—a beautiful

expression, but I should like to add to it a little prosaic rider of my own—great thoughts come from the heart, but they must go around the head.

In all that I have said I shall not be taken to indicate for a moment that I dream you can transplant British institutions wholesale in India. That is a fantastic and ludicrous dream. Even if it could be done, it would not be for the good of India. You have got to adapt your institutions to the conditions of the country where you are planting them. You cannot transplant bodily the venerable oak of our constitution to India, but you can transplant the spirit of our institutions—the spirit, the temper, the principles and the maxims of British institutions. All these you can transplant and act upon and abide by. You cannot give universal suffrage in India, and I do not insist that India should be on the same footing as our self-governing colonies, like Canada.

I am authorised to announce on my full responsibility that the Government of India is in thorough sympathy with the necessities of the day and of the hour. I only want the House to know that we are in earnest in the direction that I have indicated. I hope there will be no hurry or precipitancy on the part either of the bureaucrats or of the agitators. If there is, it can only have the effect, the inevitable effect, of setting the clock back. We are talking today about the Budget. The very limited amount of time given to the discussions of the Budget in Calcutta has hitherto been rather a scandal. All reasonable people both here and in India have admitted that state of things cannot be endured. Then there is also the question of the moving of amendments to the financial proposals of the Viceroy and his advisers. There is the extension of the representative element in the Legislative Council—not the Executive Council, but Legislative...

In regard to the question of the employment of Indians in the higher offices, I think a move—a definite and deliberate move—ought to be made with a view of giving competent and able natives the same access to the higher posts in the

administration that are given to our own countrymen. There is a famous sentence in the Queen's Proclamation, of 1858, which says: "It is our further will that, *so far as may be*, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their educational talents, ability and integrity duly to discharge." I think these words "so far as may be' have been some-what misinterpreted in the past. I do not believe that the Ministers who advised Queen Victoria in framing one of the most memorable documents in all our history meant those qualifying words, which were words of commonsense and wisdom, to be construed in a narrow, literal, restrricted or pettifogging spirit. I do not believe that Parliament or the liberal and generous men who held the helm of state in India at that time ever intended that this promise of the Queen should be construed in any but a liberal and generous sense. The Governor-General of India today is, I am glad to say, a man of a firm texture of mind. I do not believe the Governor-General has any intention of riding off on a narrow evasion of the obvious spirit of those words containing a promise which was as wise and politic as it was just.

I do not know if there is any case in history of an autocratic, personal, or absolute government co-existing with free speech and free right of meeting; but it is quite certain that for as long a time as my poor imagination can pierce through, for so long a time our Government of India must partake, and in no small degree, of the personal and almost absolute. But that is no reason why we should not try this great experiment of showing that you can have a strong and effective administration along with free speech and free institutions, and being all the better and all the more effective because of free speech and free institutions. That policy is a noble one to think of, but the task is arduous; and because it is noble and because it is arduous, I recommend the policy to the adoption of the House.

*Minto and the Congress**

My inclination would certainly be to grant such an interview, although one would have to be careful about it. I think we are bound to look upon the Indian National Congress as a factor in Indian politics, and that it would be best not to ignore it. Gokhale probably represents the best elements in the Congress. On the other hand, there is much connected with it which may fairly be called disloyal, and even, whilst admitting the best of its ambitions to be good, its influence is often mischievously directed. At the same time, I believe one can do a good deal by keeping in touch with such leaders as Surendra Nath Banerjea and Moti Lal Ghose. I believe the mere fact of their receiving notice and becoming aware that one is ready to discuss matters with them may do good.

If the Home Government will not accept the assurance that these representative Mohammedans do truly represent Mohammedan opinion, so far as any opinion has been formed at all then I think the Mohammedans will decide that they must organise meetings to voice Mohammedan opinion. They can do it. The Mohammedan organisation, through the *Moulvies*, and based on religious practices is far and away in advance of the Hindu organisation, which is only a political organisation and dependent on the engineering of the agitators. The recent events in Dacca prove this, and we all know it well. We have advised the Mohammedans so far that it was unnecessary to organise counter demonstrations. If these are started the fat will be in the fire, and we do not know where it will end. There will be a recrudescence of all the old disturbances in a much worse and more dangerous forms, and the country wants peace. There are a thousand *badmashes* in Dacca ready to take advantage of any disturbance.

Mr. Morley may ask, do these Mohammedan representatives really represent Mohammedan opinion ? I answer most

* Viceroy Minto to Lord Morley on 9 May, 1906.

certainly they do. The Hindu papers may talk of the three Tailors of Tooley Street, and no doubt in Eastern Bengal Mohammedan leaders of position and distinction are few; but unless these leaders go counter to the *Moulvies* which would only be in some religious or quasi-religious questions (e.g , a blow at the *Madrasas*, which train *Moulvies*, might be such an issue) the Mohammedans will follow their leaders without question, and to a man almost. As a matter of fact, all political agitation must be engineered. Not one in a thousand of either the Hindus or Mohammedans in the districts care one iota about partition; how can they even know of the partition unless they are told; whether I live at Calcutta or Dacca, or whether Sir A. Fraser or I give orders to the District officers, does not interest them at all, but they will follow their leaders ...Let their leaders tell the people that they are ill-treated and must demonstrate and they will demonstrate, whether Mohammedans or Hindus. But what the Hindus have done the Mohammedans can do, and they can go one better. For when they start, if they do start, and do not sit down in sullen apathy, which is also possible, they will boycott their Hindu landlords; the military cannot be called to collect rents, and a whole countryside cannot be evicted or sold up. It will be the landlords that will have to be evicted and bought out in the end, if it comes to a determined light. If Government cannot give the assurance that it accepts the views of the representative Mohammedans as the views of their co-religionists, it had better perhaps say nothing about the subject, but the Mohammedans may draw their own conclusion that Government does not believe they are representative, and that they must agitate. They can easily organise a mass meeting of a million, if they understand that is required as evidence.

*Muslim Address to Lord Minto**

May it please Your Excellency,—Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, talukdars, lawyers, zemindars, merchants, and others,

* Submitted by a delegation of eminent Muslims led by H.H. Agha Khan to Viceroy Minto at Simla on 1 October 1906.

representing a large body of the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration.

We fully realise and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to diverse races and professing diverse religiods who form the population of the vast continent of India, and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom, and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, who have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive, and that India will, in the future, occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has, so far as possible, been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion, which forms such an important feature of all Indian problems.

Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commercial organisations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance; and, finally, by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and—above all—in the Legislative Chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Committee appointed by Your Excellency, with the view of giving it further extension; and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community, that we have ventured to approach Your Excellency on the present occasion.

The Mohammedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty two millions, or between one fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian dominions; and if a reduction be made for the uncivilised portions of the community enumerated under the heads of animists and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus, but, properly speaking, are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mohammedans to the Hindu majority becomes much larger. We therefore desire to submit that, under any system of representation, extended or limited a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European Power, except Russia, may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State. We venture indeed, with Your Excellency's permission, to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Mohammedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways, affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance; and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire and we also hope that Your Excellency will, in this connection, be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

The Mohammedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterised their rulers, and have, in consequence. abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing; but earnestly as we desire that the Mohammedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohammedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

We, therefore, pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after a careful consideration of the views and wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with Your Excellency's earnest attention.

We hope Your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian people. Many of the most thoughtful members of our community, in fact, consider that the greatest care, forethought, and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious, and political conditions obtaining in India; and that, in the absence of such care and caution, their adoption is likely among other evils, to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the government of the country, we Mohammedans cannot any longer, in justice to our own national interests, hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mohammedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of Your Excellency and your illustrious predecessors in office, and the Heads of Local Governments by whom the Mohammedan members of Legislative Chambers have, almost without exception, been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably, under existing circumstances, unavoidable; for while, on the one hand, the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection, on the other hand, of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy. As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the name of any

Mohammedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted, unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we, in fairness, find fault with the desire of our non-Muslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority, on whose good will they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen, and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence, in our Legislative Chambers, of able supporters of these interests,irrespective of their nationality. Still it cannot be denied that we Mohammedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own, which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the provinces in which the Mohammedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might, without unfairness, be neglected. This has been the case, to some extent, in the Punjab; but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment, according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mohammedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due. We therefore pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that, both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces, a due proportion of Mohammedans shall always find place. Orders of like import have, at times, been issued by Local Governments in some provinces, but have not unfortunately, in all cases, been strictly observed,

will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of justice.

As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests, affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs, and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit, for a moment, Your Excellency's attention to the position of Mohammedans thereon before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people. Yet the position of Mohammedans on these Boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards, and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mohammedan Commissioner; and the same principle, we understand, is adopted in a number of Municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere, but in a good many place the Mohammedan tax-payers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that Local Authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammedans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards. Such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives, as is the practice in many towns in the Punjab.

We would also suggest that the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities might be similarly dealt with; that is to say, there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mohammedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

We now proceed to the consideration of the question of

our representation in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would most respectfully suggest that as in the case of Municipalities and District Boards, the proportion of Mohammedan representatives entitled to a seat should be determined and declared with due regard to the important consideration which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this address; and that the important Mohammedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other interests, the Mohammedan members of District Boards and Municipalities, and the Mohammedan graduates of universities, of a certain standing, say five years, should be formed into electoral colleges, and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as Your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council, whereon the due representation of Mohammedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest :

(1) That, in the cadre of the Council, the proportion of Mohammedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that, in any case, the Mohammedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority.

(2) That, as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination.

(3) That, for purposes of choosing Mohammedan members, Mohammedan landowners, lawyers, merchants, and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by Your Excellency's Government, Mohammedan Members of the Provincial Councils and Mohammedan Fellows of Universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by Your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian Members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointments being made, we beg that the claims of Mohammedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mohammedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august Chamber.

We beg to approach Your Excellency on a subject which most closely affects our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspiration as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mohammedan University, which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We therefore most respectfully pray that Your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency that, in assisting the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty, at this stage in the development of Indian affairs, in the directions indicated in the present address, Your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and Your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come, and we feel confident that Your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers.

Minto's Reply to the Muslim Deputation,
(1 October, 1906)

Your Highness and Gentlemen—Your presence here today is very full of meaning. With the document which you have presented me are attached the signatures of nobles, of ministers of various States, of great landowners, of lawyers, of merchants, and of many other of His Majesty's Mohammedan subjects. I welcome the representative character of your Deputation as expressing the views and aspirations of the enlightened Muslim community of India. I feel that all you have said emanates from a representative body basing its

opinions on a matured consideration of the existing political conditions of India, totally apart from the small personal or political sympathies and antipathies of scattered localities; and I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are affording me of expressing my appreciation of the last aims of the followers of Islam and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire.

As your Viceroy, I am proud of the recognition you express of the benefits conferred by British rule on the diverse races of many creeds who go to form the population of this huge continent. You yourselves, the descendants of a conquering and ruling race, have told me today of your gratitude for the personal freedom, the liberty of worship, the general peace, and the hopeful future which British administration has secured for India.

Is it interesting to look back on early British efforts to assist the Mohamedan population to qualify themselves for the public service. In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassah with the intention of enabling its students to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government. In 1811 my ancestor, Lord Minto, advocated improvements in the Madrassah and the establishment of Mohammedan Colleges at other places throughout India. In later years the efforts of the Mohammedan Association led to the Government resolution ol 1885 dealing with the educational position of the Mohammedan community and their employment in the public service, whilst Mohammedan educational effort has culminated in the College of Aligarh that great institution which the noble and broadminded devotion of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has dedicated to his co-religionists.

It was in July 1877 that Lord Lytton laid the foundation stone of Aligarh, when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan addressed these memorable words to the Viceroy : "The personal honour which you have done me assures me of a great fact and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent the

British rule, have sympathies with our labours and this assurance is very valuable and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now the sole object of my life has roused on the one hand the energies of my own countrymen, and on the other has won the sympathy of our British fellow subjects and the support of our rulers, so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the College will still prosper and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow subjects as have been the ruling feelings of my life"

Aligarh has won its laurels. Its students have gone forth to fight the battle of life strong in the tenets of their own religion, strong in the precepts of loyalty and patriotism, and now when there is much that is critical in the political future of India the inspiration of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the teachings of Aligarh shine forth brilliantly in the pride of Mohammedan history, in the loyalty, common-sense and sound reasoning so eloquently expressed in your address. But, gentlemen, you go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealings of your rulers, you cannot but be aware that "recent events" have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mohamedans which might "pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance".

Now I have no intention of entering into any discussion upon the affairs of Eastern Bengal and Assam, yet I hope that without offence to anyone I may thank the Mohamedan community of the new Province for the moderation and self-restraint they have shown under conditions which were new to them, and as to which there has been inevitably much misunderstanding, and that I may at the same time sympathise with all that is sincere in Bengalee sentiments. But above all, what I would ask you to believe is that the course the Viceroy and the Government of India have pursued in connection with

the affairs of the new Province, the future of which is now I hope assured, has been dictated solely by a regard for what has appeared best for its present and future population as a whole, irrespective of race and creed, and that the Mohamedan community of Eastern Bengal and Assam can rely as firmly as ever on British justice and fairplay for the appreciation of its loyalty and the safeguarding of its interests.

You have addressed me, gentlemen, at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it would be foolish to attempt to deny its existence, hopes and ambitions new to India are making themselves felt. We cannot ignore them—we should be wrong to wish to do so—but to what is all this unrest due ? Not to the discontent of misgoverned millions—I defy anyone honestly to assert that—not to say uprising of a disaffected people

It is due to that educational growth in which only a very small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British rule first sowed the seed and the fruits of which British rule is now doing its best to foster and to direct. There may be many tares in the harvest we are now reaping. The Western grain which we have sown may not be entirely suitable to the requirements of the people of India but the educational harvest will increase as years go on, and the healthiness of the nourishment it gives will depend on the careful administration and distribution of its products. You need not ask my pardon gentlemen, for telling me that "representative institutions of the European type are entirely new to the people of India" or that their introduction here requires the most earnest thought and care. I should be very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world amongst the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races. Western breadth of thought, the teachings of Western civilisation, the freedom of British individuality can do much for the people of India, but I recognise with you that they must not carry with them an impracticable insistence of the acceptance of political methods.

And now gentlemen I come to your own position in

respect to the political future of the position of the Mohammedan community for whom you speak. You will, I feel sure, recognise that it is impossible for me to follow you through any detailed consideration of the conditions and the share that the community has a right to claim in the administration of public affairs. I can at present only deal with generalities. The points which you have raised are before the Committee, which, as you know, I have lately appointed to consider the question of presentation (representation), and I will take care that your address is submitted to them, but at the same time I hope I may be able to reply to the general tenor of your remarks without in any way forestalling the Committee's report.

The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that in any system of representation whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as now constituted, cannot be expected to ruturn a Mohammedan candidate, and that if by chance they did so it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's view to those of a majority opposed to his own community whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your numerical strength and both in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire entitle you to consideration. I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this Continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the Municipal and District Boards and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political

education of the people.

In the meantime I can only say to you that the Mohammedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative organisation with which I am concerned and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs, and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of His Majesty's Indian Empire.

Your Highness and Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the unique opportunity your deputation has given me of meeting so many distinguished and representative Mohamedans. I deeply appreciate the energy and interest in public affairs which have brought you here from great distances, and I only regret that your visit to Simla is necessarily so short.

*Loyalty out of Anxiety**

The purpose for which we have met today is nothing new. It arose from the day the Indian National Congress was founded, so much so that the late lamented Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, for whose sagacious and far-sighted policy we will always remain indebted, was so moved by the growing strength of the Congress that he valiantly strove to convince the Muslims that their betterment and security lay in abstaining from participation in the Congress. This advice was so sound that, though he is not among us today, yet the Muslims firmly hold to it, and as time passes we realise more and more that the Muslims should make the maximum efforts to protect their political rights.

Realising the increase in the internal and external influence of the Congress in the wake of the partition of Bengal and noting the Government's intention to expand the legisla-

* Introductory speech delivered by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk at All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Dacca on 30 December 1906 under the chairmanship of Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan.

tive councils the Muslims waited in deputation on the Viceroy and placed before him their needs and the injustices they have had to suffer as a nation. The proceedings of the Deputation and the Viceroy's reply have appeared in the press. The Muslim leaders who, as members of the Deputation had gathered at Simla, after considering the steps to be taken to safeguard the political rights of the Muslims on a permanent footing, had resolved that delegates from different provinces should meet at Dacca towards the end of December and decide the question.

The Muslims are only one-fourth of the population of other communities of India. It is quite obvious that, if at any time the British Government ceases to exist in India, the nation which is four times more numerous will rule the country. Now, gentlemen, everyone should ponder as to what would be our condition at that time. In such a contingency our lives, our property, our honour, our religion, all will be in jeopardy. Today when the might of the British Government affords protection to the people there are numerous instances of the difficulties and troubles we experience at the hands of our neighbours in the various provinces. Woe betide the time when we have to live as subjects of these people who want to take revenge of Aurangzeb from us after hundreds of years. Of course, it is our duty, as far as our influence goes to dissuade our friends from following the wrong path, to treat them nicely as our neighbours, to show sympathy to them on the social plane and refrain from any antagonistic attitude towards them, while safeguarding our rights and interests. Whatever differences we now have or may have in future with the Congress concern three matters—firstly those demands of the Congress which imperil the existence of the British Government in India; secondly those questions which are prejudicial to our legitimate rights; thirdly their violent tone against the Government which the Muslims do not appreciate.

Main resolution passed in a meeting of leading Muslims of India held at Dacca on 30th December, 1906, under the chairmanship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk :

"Resolved that this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca decides that a political association, styled 'The Indian Muslim League' be formed for the furtherance of the following objects :

(a) To promote among the Musalmans of India the feeling of loyalty to the British Government and remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measure.

(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and respectfully to represent the needs and aspirations to Government.

(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League". (This resolution was moved by the Nawab of Dacca and seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan.)

The following aims and objects of the All-India Muslim League, adopted in its first session at Karachi on 30th December 1907 were incorporated in its constitution. This session was presided over by Sir Adamji Pirbhai :

"(a) to promote among Indian Musalmans feelings of loyalty towards the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) to protect the political and other rights of Indian Musalmans and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language.

(c) so far as possible, without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (a) and (b) of this Section, to promote friendly feelings between the Musalmans and other communities of India."

Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India from 1905 to 1910 on the demand of the Muslims of India for separate electorates.

"Let us not forget that the difference between Mohamedanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith and dogma. It is a difference of life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community. Do not let us forget what makes it interesting and even exciting. Do not let us forget that in talking of Hindus and Mohamedans, we are dealing with, and are brought, face to face mightiest forces that through all the centuries and ages have moulded the fortunes of great States and the destinies of countless millions of Mankind".

"The Mohamedans protested that the Hindu would elect a pro-Hindu, just as I suppose, in a mixed college of say seventy-five Catholics and twenty-five Protestants voting together, the protestants might suspect that the Catholic voting for the Protestant would choose what is called a Romanizing Protestant, and as little of a Protestant as they could find. Suppose the other way. In Ireland there is an expression, a shoneen Catholic—that is to say, a Catholic who, though a Catholic, is too friendly with English Conservatism and other influences which the Nationalists dislike. And it might be said, if there were seventy-five Protestants against twenty-five Catholics, that the Protestants when giving a vote in the way of Catholic representative, would return shoneens".

Resolution adopted at the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League held in 1913 :

"The All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities and hopes that leaders of both sides will periodically meet together to find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action in questions of public good".

The goal of the All-India Muslim League was changed at

its Lucknow session held in 1913 to read as under :

"Attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about, amongst other, a steady reform of the existing systems of administration by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India, and by co-operation with other communities for the said purpose".

23

ON THE PATH OF CO-OPERATION

CONCRESS-LEAGUE ADDRESS

[Delhi,
November 26, 1917]

Sirs,

We, the members of the All-India Committee of the Indian National Congress and of the Council of the All-India Moslem League, welcome you, Sir, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, and approach you and Your Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, His Imperial Majesty's august representative and the head of his Government in this country, with feelings of gratitude and hope; gratitude, in that proposals of reform formulated by the National Congress and the Moslem League have received the attention of Your Excellency and of His Imperial Majesty's Ministers in Great Britain whom you, Sir, represent; hope, in that we feel that our proposals being just and in full harmony with British history and policy, will meet with favour at your hands.

Sirs, we cannot let this historic occasion pass without acknowledging the great and good work that Great Britain has accomplished in India. The protection of the land from invasion from without and the establishment of peace and order are in themselves no mean achievements; but it is a prouder title to glory that she has produced a new intellectual awakening, a national consciousness and an eager longing for freedom among the heirs of ancient civilization who had unfortunately fallen from their high estate. It was a great truth which Lord Ripon of blessed memory felicitously uttered

when he described educated Indians as the children of British Rule, and we can assure you, Sirs, that Sir Bartle Frere's observation is as correct today as when he made it that no section of the people of India appreciate the advantages of that rule more highly than those whose minds have been broadened by the liberal English education which will for all time stand as Britain's most imperishable monument in India. Their very political aspirations are a tribute to the success of her mission in the East. "The proudest day in the annals of England" which Lord Macaulay foresaw has come, and Indians today demand that Self-Government which Englishmen have always fervently believed to be the indispensable condition of self-respecting national life. The Indian National Congress, which a renowned Indian statesman described as "the greatest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation" is the highest expression of this sacred national aspiration, and the ideal of the Congress is also the ideal of the most important organization of Indian Musalmans, the All-India Moslem League. The authoritative announcement which was made simultaneously in England and India on the 20th of August last that His Majesty's Government, with the complete accord of the Government of India, accept responsible government for India as an integral part of the Empire as the goal of British policy was therefore received by the country with no ordinary feeling of satisfaction. For that epoch-making declaration, Sirs, we Indians of all creeds, classes and communities are deeply beholden to His Majesty's Government as well as to the Government of India.

We submit however that to ensure the early realization of this ideal the reforms that are to be introduced as a first instalment should confer a substantial measure of power on the people acting through their chosen representatives in Councils, and further, that the determination of future progress should not, as has been proposed, be left entirely to the Government in India and England. It ought to be recognized that the people of India themselves, as the party principally affected, have a right to an effective voice in the decision of a question which is of such supreme moment to them. This

would be in conformity with the principle of the declaration recently made by the Prime Minister of England "that the wishes of the inhabitants must be the supreme consideration in the resettlement", and that this formula "is to be applied equally in the tropical countries". It is our settled conviction that the best interests of this country and of the Empire demand that full responsible Government should be established here as early as practicable. We are therefore anxious to be assured that the progress towards the goal shall be reasonably rapid. We hope that this point will be taken into consideration by His Majesty's Government.

We are not less grateful for the decision to introduce a substantial first instalment of reforms at as early a date as may be practicable. We beg leave to observe, Sirs, that the proceedings of the annual sessions of both the Indian National Congress and all-India Moslem League are a living proof of the imperative need of liberal reforms in all directions—constitutional, financial and administrative. Amelioration of the material condition of the masses as well as the satisfaction of the political aspirations of the classes has throughout been the anxious concern of these organizations. They have persistently advocated reforms in land revenue policy and administration; measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness, agricultural education and agricultural improvement; rapid progress in the construction of irrigation works; an active policy of industrial development and technical education; the wider diffusion of education in all its branches; retrenchment of public expenditure and reduction of taxation, pressing heavily on those least able to bear it; reform of the police, and of the system of administration of justice; temperance reform; lenient forest rules; the improvement of public health, and adequate provision of medical relief; the re-institution of village Panchayats;—all of which are designed and calculated to make life more worth living for the tens of millions of our poorer countrymen, with whose condition as it is no one can affect to be satisfied. We submit with confidence that educated Indians cannot justly be blamed if the remedial measures for which they have been striving have not been introduced. It

is true that they have been claiming with equal ardour the practical recognition of the rights which legitimately are theirs in their own country; but in doing so they have been actuated at least as much by the earnest desire to exercise them in the interest of their less favoured brethren as by the prompting of their own national self-respect. If they have insistently pleaded for some measure of real power for the representatives and spokesmen of the people in the government of the country, if they have declined to reconcile themselves to a position of subordination and inferiority in administration, if they have pressed for the removal of all disabilities and distinction based on racial and religious grounds, if they have expressed their dissatisfaction with the share assigned to them in the defence of the country, and if they have protested against reactionary and repressive measures, they have done so because the assertion of their rights as Indians is to them a compelling public duty. Neither the National Congress nor the Moslem League has ever been slow to acknowledge the value of the progressive measures that have been adopted by Government from time to time. And we may therefore be permitted to say with the less hesitation that the experience of years has convinced us that under the existing system social and economic reform has much less chance than the well-being and advancement of the people demands, that Indian public opinion is more powerless than effectual, service and sectional interests are not always subordinated to the common weal, and that the system should be so altered as to make the will of the people prevail as far as may be in all matters of internal administration.

Essential Features of Scheme

It is in this convinction, Sirs, that the National Congress and the Moslem League considered the constitutional and administrative reforms which they should respectfully urge on the Government here and in England for present adoption. The Joint Scheme of Reforms is the result of careful deliberation of joint conferences of their committees. It may be mentioned here that the Memorandum which was submitted to Your Excellency by nineteen elected members of Your

Excellency's Legislative Council in the autumn of 1916 is in accord with the proposals of the Congress and the League. We now ask permission, Sirs, to dwell on what may be regarded as the essential features of the Scheme of Reforms. The basal principles on which it is founded are, firstly, that the British connection with India should be safeguarded, and secondly, that, subject to this fundamental reservation, the character and constitution of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments should be transformed so as to make them representative of and responsible to the people acting through their elected representatives in Councils. To the former end it is proposed that the Government of India should continue to own responsibility to His Majesty's Government, and through them to the British Parliament, in matters pertaining to foreign relations and the defence of the country. The Legislature is to have no control over them. Nor will it have any right to interfere with the relations of the Government with the Indian States. This being secured, it is urged that in matters of internal administration the control of the Secretary of State should be replaced by control by the Legislature; the Government of India similarly devolving power on the provincial Governments, which in their turn will own responsibility to their respective Legislatures. It must obviously follow that there should be a strong Indian element in the Executive Governments as well as that the Legislative Councils should be expanded and reformed so as to consist of a substantial majority of members elected directly by the people on as wide a franchise as may be possible. And these Councils should be endowed with real and substantial power, not only over legislation but also over finance and administration. We venture to think that the Congress and the Moslem League make no extravagant proposals when they ask that one-half of the Executive Councillors should be Indians, and that four-fifths of the Legislative Councils should consist of elected members. Nor, we submit, are the powers proposed for the latter bodies excessive or impracticable. Adequate safeguards have been provided in the Scheme to prevent the adoption of hasty or unsuitable measures—legislative, financial or administrative; as well as to protect the interests of minorities. In

connection with the latter point we get to invite attention to the provision that no non-official proposal affecting communal interests to which three-fourths of the members belonging to that community object, should be proceeded with in any Legislative Council.

The reforms relating to the Secretary of State and his Council are suggested as being consequential on the reform of the system of government in the country itself. They will, it is trusted, be found to make for economy and for harmony between the authorities in the two countries, without in any way impairing efficiency.

In the Memorandum in support of the proposals, which we beg to hand with this address, the case for reform is set forth at some length. It discusses, too, the important cognate subject of local self-government and a few urgently needed administrative reforms for the introduction of which both the Congress and the League have long been earnestly appealing to Government. The resolutions of the Congress and the Moslem League, the Joint Scheme of Reforms, and the memorandum of the nineteen members, are appended to our Memorandum to facilitate reference. We hope that the country will not have to wait longer to see Lord Ripon's cherished scheme of real local self-government fully carried out; or for the substantial Indianization of the public services for which our late revered countryman, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, laboured so long and so hard; or for the complete separation of the judicial services and functions from the executive, a reform needed even more in the interest of the backward masses than of the classes; or for such an amendment of the Arms Act and Rules as will not only do away with the invidious racial discrimination against Indians but empower them to possess and carry arms on conditions similar to those which prevail in other civilized countries, in most of the States in this very country, and in the case of Europeans and Americans in British India itself. The country has expressed its gratification at the removal of the bar against the appointment of Indians as commissioned officers in the Army. It trusts that the rules

which will regulate their admission will be liberal and open an honourable and patriotic career to the young men of all classes who may satisfy such tests as may be imposed to judge their fitness, that the requisite facilities for their training and examination will be provided in India itself, and that Indians will be appointed in reasonably large numbers. It is a grievance of long standing that Indians are not permitted to enlist as volunteers. If, however, the system of volunteering as it has existed is to disappear, it is believed that the Indian Defence Force will not be disbanded after the war, and it is urged that the Indian section of it may be placed on a level of absolute equality with the European.

India's Status in the Empire

Before taking leave of you, Sirs, we would invite attention to the very important subject of India's status in the Empire. Our claim in one word is that she should be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of equality with the Dominions. The relation of the two should be mutual in the complete sense of the term. We submit that if the Dominions are to exercise any rights in relation to India, the latter should have the power to exercise the same rights in relation to them. In any Council or Parliament of the Empire which may be constituted at a future date, India should be represented in like manner and in an equal measure with the Dominions. Unless this is done, the participation of the Dominions in the governance of our country, without a corresponding right in us to participate in the governance of them, will mean a lowering of even our present unsatisfactory status, which will arouse the strongest opposition in this country. We hope and trust that His Majesty's Government will never entertain any such proposal. In the meatime we request that India may be allowed to be represented in the Imperial Conference (and in the Imperial Cabinet if any such should be constituted) through persons elected by the elected members of our Legislative Councils. We are beholden to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India for the privilege accorded to India in the beginning of this year, of sending three gentlemen to

represent her in the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet. Nor are we less sensible of the value of the unanimous resolution recorded by the former body in favour of the regular representation of India at future ordinary sittings of the Imperial Conference. The constitutional position of the Government of India being what it is in relation to His Majesty's Government on the one side and the people of India on the other, its nominees cannot have the character of representatives or spokesmen of the people, as have the Ministers of the Dominions, which are endowed with responsible government. In this view of the matter we are constrained to submit that during the period of transition from the existing system to responsible government, the representatives of this country in the Imperial Conference and the Imperial Cabinet should be allowed to be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils in India.

The Congress-League Scheme

(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilizations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(b) That in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted towards Self-Government by granting the Reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League (detailed below).

(c) That in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

REFORM SCHEME
I-Provincial Legislative Councils

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fith nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major Provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor Provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Muslims should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions :

Punjab—One-half of the elected Indian Members.		
United Provinces—30 p.c.	,,	,,
Bengal—40 p.c.	,,	,,
Bihar—25 p.c.	,,	,,
Central Provinces—15 p.c.	,,	,,
Madras—15 p.c.	,,	,,
Bombay—One-third	,,	,,

Provided that no Muslim shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial

or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7 (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contribution from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolution on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward

for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importtance, if supproted by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become Law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. Provincial Governments

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. Imperial Legislative Council

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council

should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Muslims for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the etected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Muslims elected by separate Muslim electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Cnuncils by separate Muslim electorates.

Vide provisos to section 1, clause 4.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary question shall not be restrict to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefore.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budgets as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-Provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General-in-Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties, of imposing, altering or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor-General-in-Council; provided however that if the resolutions is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importtance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by the Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. The Government of India

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointment in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a Province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. The Secretary of State in Council

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI India and the Empire

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII. Military and Other Matters

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

24

ISLAM AND INDIAN NATIONALISM*

For various reasons Indian nationalism, a bourgeois enthusiasm, had in its early phase adherents most of whom were not Muslims. We have noted this fact, especially in our discussion of communalism, and have considered some of the reasons. Indian nationalism in its most recent phase has again been able to command relatively little Muslim support. This fact we shall be noting more fully in our discussion of Muslim League, and shall be endeavouring to understand some of its reasons. Meanwhile our task here is to observe that between these two phases there was a period during which virtually the entire Indian people struggled together to throw off the British imperialist yoke. They struggled, with a middle-class leadership and a nationalist ideology; and they came remarkably near to victory. But they did not quite attain it.

The rise of this all-India struggle may be dated from shortly before the First World War; and its first culmination in a major crisis was the Khilafat-and Non-co-operation movement. The struggle and the united nationalism continued more or less until, say, the 1937 provincial elections; having again reached a crisis, again not quite attained victory, in the Civil Disobedience movement after the World Economic Depression. Since about 1937 the movement has declined : the Empire having intensified its counter-attack, with increasing skill, increasing power, increasing divisiveness; and the Indian middle-class leadership having weakened its offensive, with increasing confusion and frustration, increasing fear of

*From W.C. Smith : *Modern Islam in India*, Chapter 3.

the masses, and increasing dividedness. The division has particularly taken the form of Hindu-Muslim separateness.

To study, then, united Indian nationalism between its rise and fall, in order to observe the Muslim part therein, we shall first briefly treat the Indian National Congress, and then shall turn to various groups Indian-nationalist but specifically Muslim. We have already examined the Khilafat movement and its satellites.

In a study such as the present one there is no scope for entering at length into the relations between Indian Muslims and the Indian National Congress. To discuss the part played by the Congress in the lives of Muslims, and the part played by Muslims in the Congress, would be a vast task, and would lead us far astray. Besides, it would involve an unreal approach, for Muslims joined or supported or directed the Congress in some instances as a distinct Muslim group within a larger organization, but often as individuals, integral parts of the whole. The history of most Muslims in the Congress is simply the history of the Congress; Muslim individuals and Sikh individuals and several thousands of other individuals joined together and together have formed a national organization. To attempt a comprehensive treatment of the role of Muslims in the Congress would be comparable to attempting to study the role of blood-haired people in the British Labour Party. The absence of such treatises does not mean that there are no blonds in the Labour Party, or that they are unimportant.

The Congress has been by far the largest, most important, and most representative political organization in India. Various interested and influential parties (such as the India Office and the censored press) carried on propaganda to the effect that it represented Hindus but not Muslims. This was for a time simply untrue. It was particularly untrue in crises.

There has always been a number of Muslims in the Congress or supporting it. They have been nationalist and they have been Muslim. Some of them have been nationalist because they were Muslim : they deduced their Indian

nationalist ardour from their interpretation of Islam—for instance, of Islam as a religion of freedom and equality, of justice, of co-operation with and respect for all mankind. Others have been Indian-nationalist in spite of being Muslim : they have heard Muslim League propaganda and despised its communalism, and have determined that they themselves at least would choose Indian freedom and would progress rather than Islamic reaction. Others again have been Indian-nationalist and have been Muslim, but have not taken time off to work out some relation between the two facts. They have supported the Congress not as Muslims but simply because it seemed to them the right or the obvious thing to do. This need not mean that they were not Muslims also, even ardently so. Finally, certain Muslims have noticed that some Muslim were in the Congress, some were not; some Hindus were in the Congress, some were not (it is worth remembering that there have always been Hindu reactionaries, landlords, etc., who have hated the Congress and Indian independence as wholeheartedly as their more advertised Muslim parallels), some Sikhs were in it and some were not ... and so on. They have inferred that to postulate any relation between religion and politics is misleading.

Attempts to break up the national solidarity and to foster communalism for a long time succeeded decisively in the cities at most. At the outbreak of the Second World War, even when bourgeois Muslim Congressmen tended to be consciously a Muslim set within the Congress, yet villagers who were nationalists continued to be nationalists solidly, not in groups.

From among the first division, the communally-conscious Muslim nationalists, supporting the Congress as Muslims and, on behalf of Indian nationalism and the Congress, appealing to Muslims as a group, we may take as representative almost the entire corps of the orthodox divines (for instance, Husayn Ahmad Madani, principal of the country's chief Islamic theological college at Deoband), and such a firebrand agitator as 'Ubayd Ullah Sindhi. The clerics, whose importance in the villages has been large, we shall study separately later. 'Ubayd

Ullah Sindhi (also a theologian by training) is a romantic figure whose devoting to Islam has been answering, as also his opposition to imperialism and his hopes of a free and better society in India and in the Islamic world. During and after the Khilafat and Non-co-operation days he was prodigiously active among the Muslims of the northern frontier of India and beyond, inflaming them to opposition and stirring their passions and hopes. He was the kind of successful and elusive agitator whom the government of India thoroughly dislikes, and he had to live in exile from that time (*c.* 1924) until 1939; he spent the long interlude in various parts of the USSR, at Geneva, and in Arabia. He was eventually allowed to return to India, presumably being considered more or less ineffectual; he died in 1944.

He had a special Muslim social theory, which he derived from Shah Wali Ullah of Delhi (eighteenth century). Anti-capitalist, it envisaged Islam as an unfinished social movement, begun by Muhammad and having shown tremendous promise for a few years, but then perverted by Arab imperialism, so that the promise is still to be fulfilled. The theory sounds progressive, but it is not really radical; socially, 'Ubayd Ullah was not very dangerous to the powers that be. But he gave himself to political propaganda also. Touring south India in 1941, he applauded the Hindu-Muslim unity that he found there, and said : "I therefore urge on my Moslem brethren to join the Congress without any hesitation whatsoever and work there as a group in co-operation with others for the uplift of the community. I would urge upon Moslems with all the strength at my command not to be alarmed by those who constantly tell them that they are in minority. If the Moslems take their proper place in the vanguard of nationalistic forces and work for the freedom of the country, there will be no question of majority or minority. Their heroic work and organising capacity will be amply rewarded".

In addition to such communal leaders, there have been many Muslim nationalists who were recognized as outstanding and sincere Islamic leaders, but whose appeal has been not

only to Muslims but to the whole of India. Such have been several of the country's most prominent Congressmen : Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Sayf-ud Din Kichlu, Dr. M.A. Ansari, and many others. All Indian nationalists, of whatever creed, respected and admired these men, and took them as their own leaders. (They had their lesser counterparts in each province and each district.) We shall take as a worthy example the present (1940 ff.) president of the Congress, to whom we have already had occasion to refer : Mawlana Abu-l Kalam Azad.

Abul Kalam was born in Makkah (Mecca) in 1888, of an Indian father who had left India at the Mutiny. The father, too, was a distinguished Islamic leader in both India and the Near East, a religious scholar and author. The son was educated in Makkah and at al Azhar, the orthodox Islamic seminory in Cairo; he was a brilliant student. He acquired a thorough grasp of Persian as well as Arabic, and of the traditional Muslim studies. After his father died, he came home to India; and he set himself to absorbing also the new learning of the West. On his own initiative he learned to read various European languages; he still does not speak English, though he understands it when it is spoken. As a result of his by-no-means superficial studies in Western science and literature, and of the movements stirring in India about him at that time, he decided to work for the reform of Islam. He had great respect for the Islamic reformer Jamal-ud Din al Afghani. We have already noticed his successful journalism in 1912 and the following years, and his relentless and valuable work in the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements during the interlude between his imprisonments. When released again two years later, he was at once elected president of the Congress (Delhi, 1923)—no one else, either before or since, has had the honour of that presidency at so early an age. Ever since that time he has held some important executive position in the Congress and in 1940 was elected president for the second time.

He has not surrendered his scholarship during his political

career; for instance, his much applauded Urdu annotated translation of the Qur'an was produced in the twenties. He is an unusually well-read man, of extensive interests; his private library is said to be among the best in India. He is a profound scholar of religion, discussing religious subjects dispassionately, historically. He is a scintillating conversationalist. Once, early in his career, the Shaykh al Hind, Mahmud al Hasan, then principal of the Deoband Seminary, astonished Muslim India by giving to him, still a very young man, lavish praise as a religious thinker. He became later universally respected and liked. He is a powerful and effective orator.

Even his political opponents—for instance, the Lahore daily *Inqilab*—when they have attacked him, have had to begin by praising him as a revered scholar and a great Muslim; then they go on to call him 'misled'. Jinnah, who has no understanding of these things, made a political blunder of the first water when he referred to him slightingly as 'the playboy of the Congress'.

He is not essentially a politician; he has repeatedly refused political office, and prefers the study (or the committee room) to the public square. His excellent mind is at its best in a committee. It is there that he is warmly appreciated, by Hindus, Muslims, everyone; the Congress evecutive owes much to him during the past twenty years, and cordially admits it, quite uncommunally.

He is not a scientific socialist; but claims to be a humanitarian one. And he is a sober but unflinching Indian nationalist. In his presidential address at Ramgarh, 1940, he aligned himself with the "new ideological phase" of the Congress begun at Lucknow, 1936, by Jawahar Lal Nehru; that is, the international, anti-fascist, phase. "He is the most radical among the old guard of politicians". It is understood that he and Jawahar Lal were the two members of the Congress Working Committee who opposed in 1940 the mildness of Gandhi's programme of individual civil disobedience. Azad is a militant who had never allowed himself to be diverted from nationalist aims by

mystic pacifism or by mill-owners.

A third type among the Muslims in the Congress has been the man who may or may not be a good Muslim, but in any case does not think that the question of whether one is a Muslim or not is relevant to one's choice of political activity. Such were the Muslim lawyers and other professionals who joined the Congress in its first few years; for example, Hon. Mr. Tayyabji. Such has been Yusuf Mihr Ali, prominent Congress Socialist. These people have not approached the issues religiously at all. There have been many humbler folk throughout the country of a similar attitude.

A fourth type of 'Muslim' Indian nationalist has been Muslim only by extraction, Muslim in the communal sense; but in fact has been anti-religious. There were numerous 'Muslims' among the Indian communists, long before the Communist Party was supporting the League but was rather attacking it and communalism in general, and religion, caustically. A number of young Muslim intellectuals and students were not seduced by the communalists but turned rather to Marxist thinking, or in any case attacked religion as retrogressive and divisive and would have none of it. They have worked closely with non-'Muslim' progressives for a united and free and secular India.

It is clearly impossible to calculate the numerical proportions of the different sorts of Muslim nationalist. Such a calculation would necessitate something like the Gallup poll. But in general one might hazard that the last group, deliberately anti-religious, has been much the smallest, and is decreasing; and that the first, of communally-minded Muslim Indian-nationalists, during the 1930's was drifting rather to separate Muslim communal nationalist organizations in alliance with the Congress. During the 1940's, as we have said, specifically Muslim Indian-nationalism has tended to disappear altogther.

If we turn to a few remarks about those Congressmen whose Indian nationalism has been explicitly Muslim, it is only

because they are more accessible to study. Congressmen who were individully Muslim but whose nationalism was avowedly Indian are certainly no less important, but they do not form a distinct and assessable group. It is necessary, therefore, to remember that throughout all superficial communal changes, there remained an underlying and formidable company of 'Muslims' as of others whose support of the Congress had nothing to do one way or another with their religion.

We have already, in various connections, touched upon the high-lights of Congress-Muslim history until the *khilafat* collapse in 1924; and have pointed out how at that time the nationalist ardour of most Muslims who had any left, including the former Khilafatists, was absorbed into the Congress. (There were five Muslim presidents of the Congress in the decade following the First World War).

Some of the middle-class Muslim leaders there came to be designated later as the Nationalist Muslims, even as the Nationalist Muslim Party. They were the most representative Muslim leaders in the country, commanding a good deal more support in the Muslim community than any other group. But the country was not yet sufficiently communalist in politics for them to be accurately called a 'party' within the Congress during the later 'twenties. Moreover, politics was at a low ebb generally : the frustration following the failure of the anti-British struggle persisted still; communalism of the tumultuous, rioting, sort was wide-spread; some leaders were still not sure but that the Legislative Councils offered some possibility of progress; and so on.

The communalist attitude was meanwhile growing among the middle classes, and increasingly entering petty politics. In 1928 the 'Nehru Report' provided an occasion for it to flare up on the constitutional issue; whereupon the previous Muslim divergence between the nationalists and the communalists became a conflict. But this was suspended in 1930, for then arose a really major political contest and the Civil Disobedience movement. It is clear that however much even middle-

class Muslims might bicker and chide the Congress during periods of inactivity, yet, before the Second World War, when the Congress led a struggle for national independence the Muslims supported it, in large numbers. During the Civil Disobedience movement millions of Indians struggled together, once more trying desperately and doggedly to win the independence of their country; a hundred thousand and more were imprisoned. The individuals taking part, as leaders, followers, jail-goers, were of all sorts : Muslims, Hindus, atheists, Christians, and the rest. The people of India pitted their strength against the imperialist rule. With sacrifice, with determination, with joy, they faced the hated foreigner and strove with might and main to win their nation's freedom. The rulers were severe, and cunning; they were powerful, and as grimly resolute as the Indians themselves. For months the movement surged; the spirit of the people was kindled, and it burned a brilliant flame. In the end, the imperialists won ; they had beaten the country down, and with trenchant cleverness had out-manoeuvred it. Indian nationalism was not quite strong enough to defeat the mightiest empire in the world.

After the struggle for independence seemed to be subsiding without achieving success, then it was that middle-class communalism was revived. All the leaders of the Congress are and always have been middle-class. The nationalist Muslim leaders, in so far as they felt themselves communal representatives on the Congress leadership, reverted to a dissatisfaction with the lack of a communal agreement. In 1932 the British Communal Award was announced, and the Congress's inability to come to a decision about it distressed many of the Muslim leaders, Ansari, Khaliq-ul Zaman, and others threatened to resign if the Congress fought the Award without first reaching an alternative agreement of its own of some sort. Meanwhile middle-class Muslim leaders and many of their followers were beginning to drift from the Congress into purely Muslim organizations that were politically and even socially progressive, but communal. For instance, from 1931 onwards several of the Congress's most able workers in the Punjab, who were Muslims, began to form or to join the new Ahrar party instead;

and in Bengal, the Krishak-Praja party.

That by 1937 the Congress leaders to an appreciable extent were thinking in communal terms, and to a lesser extent so were their followers, is shown by the provincial election figures; as we have already considered. The Congress made only a feeble effort to win the Muslim communal vote; instead it allied itself with Muslim communal organizations for the Muslim constituencies. In some cases, natably in the United Provinces, it after-wards found that it did not need these alliances, for the Congress itself won an overwhelming majority; for this and other reasons, once in office, it neglected these communal Muslim 'allies'. In spite of all disruptive factors, however, the elections showed quite clearly (to the horror of Whitehall, and of the Muslim landowners) that the Congress had more support among the Muslim electorate than had any other body.

That electorate did not include the basic lower classes : the proletariat and the poor peasantry. In general those classes have not been communally minded, and would give their allegiance to any party which approached them with a concrete programme of progressive action. Even the conservatives admitted that had those classes voted, the Congress majority would have been even more overwhelming. (It must be remembered that at that time the Congress had a progressive programme, very different from its later anaemic policy).

The Congress's stand on the communal question was embodied in its demand that the constitution of a free India be reached in a Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage of the entire country; that Assembly elaborating minority safeguards to be approved by the Muslim and other minority-group delegates in the Assembly, who will have been elected to it communally; or, if agreement on these lines prove impossible in any instance, the question being arbitrated by a third party chosen with the consent of the delegates of the minority concerned.

For the last few years of the 1930's the Congress was losing

a good deal of its Muslim middle-class following. This was due to a variety of causes : the continued growth of communalism as a mode of thinking and feeling; the propaganda and activities of the Muslim League (the League has been the beneficiary of most of the Congress's recent Muslim losses); and the Congress's own lack of a radically progressive programme. These three factors, interacting with each other, were in part symptoms of one fundamental tendency : the desperate and very powerful drive of the reactionary forces in India and Britain to obviate radical social change. The crisis came and was breaking up the previous united front of conservatives, liberals, and progressives that used to form Congress strength. Now, class alignments were becoming more clear and decisive.

In addition, the first two of the three factors, namely the spread of communalism and the growth of the League, were also in part symptoms of another and quite different fundamental tendency : the development of the Muslim bourgeoisie to a point where it was a separate class entity evolving a separate constructive programme of its own, not attacking 'nationalism' but rather offering Muslim nationalism as an alternative or supplement to Indian.

Of the three factors, here we are concerned only with the last. The Congress lost Muslim support, as it lost much other support, because it was not progressive enough.

The Congress programme reached its left-most point at the time of the 1937 elections; immediately afterwards it began to swing back to the right. The history of the next five years was the story of the success of the conservatives, with their policy of blocking change. After making use of the progressives' surging movement, to win victory at the polls, they attacked and defeated that left-wing group, rejected their proposals, but failed to bring forward constructive proposals of their own. The price that they paid for this victory over radicalism was (apart from the growing frustration of the country) the loss to the Congress of its Muslim support. During this period 1937-41, and especially in its critical culminating years,

the abject failure of Indian nationalism to provide an adequate leadership for the Muslims' and others' urge to advance is an essential, though often overlooked, explanation of the success at that time of the Muslim League.

The first question put to the Congress after the elections in 1937 was whether it should accept office and form provincial ministries. The left-wing, fearing compromise with imperialism, said "no"; the conservatives proved themselves stronger, hesitated, finally agreed to form governments in six, later seven, provinces. Something was, at first, achieved for the people by these ministries, in the way of civil liberties, peasant legislation, mild social reform. But the scope was severely limited; even had there been a will to radical change. Essentially, the constitution gave the provinces little power, and less money; imperialism was in supreme control, and within that framework only the barest tinkering was possible. The ills of India are deep-rooted; no scratching at the surface will dislodge them. And the Congress right wing was both unable and afraid to dig deep. Consequently, they appeared to be themselves the agents of oppression. "The dominant moderate leadership in effective control of the Congress machinery and of the Ministries was in practice developing to increasing co-operation with imperialism, was acting more and more openly in the interests of the upper-class landlords and industrialists, and was showing an increasingly marked hostility to all militant expression and forms of mass struggle. As the practical experience of the Ministries developed, discontent grew". These are the words of a spokesman of a discontented group within the Congress itself; small wonder, then, that the agitator rousing Muslim disaffection found a ready audience.

The fact, always true, was now becoming clearer that the Congress is *essentially*, a bourgeois organization. Virtually all its leaders have been middle-class. A goodly portion of its financial backing is provided by the big industrialists; similarly, of its policy. When the Congress has advanced, when it has retreated (*e. g.*, in 1922, in 1932), it is they who have profited. For some time the interests of almost all classes within India

could be subsumed under the leadership, anti-imperialist, of the *haute* bourgeoisie. This became no longer true.

Thus, in 1939 for the first time the presidential election of the Congress was contested. Since the president nominates the Working Committee, his selection is significant. Previously there had been substantial agreement amongst the leaders, so that once a candidate had been decided upon by them he was accepted by the Congress at large. Not so at the Tripuri session : the choice of Gandhi and most of the previous executive was challenged by the progressive nationalists, socialists, and communists. The latter groups put up their own candidate (Subhash Chandra Bose) with—what was significant in the struggle—a divergent policy. By a close majority, Bose was elected. But within a few months the conservatives had forced him to resign again; more important, they had frustrated and would continue to frustrate the policy of radicalism which he represented. For the following three years the Congress did nothing radical. One ominous result was that Bose, and many of the 'socialists', eventually deserted the Congress and sided with the Japanese. It was during these same years that most politically-conscious Muslims deserted Indian nationalism and sided with the Muslim League.

The obstructionist policy of the conservatives culminated in the critical years 1940-41. The outbreak of the Second World War precipitated the nationalist issue; but again the Congress refused to take the lead. In 1939 India was autocratically involved in the distant war, without even the formality of consultation with its legislature; and the rule of law was replaced by rule by ordinance. The Congress protested, stating that the Indian people could fight the 'war for freedom' only if that freedom would include also themselves; and demanded a statement of British war aims, especially as regards India. The Viceroy pompously replied that British policy towards India in the future would be precisely what it had been for twenty years in the past. The Congress again protested and resigned provincial office, but did nothing further lest it 'embarrass' the British in their war.

As long as the war seemed mainly an imperialist struggle, and as long as India itself was in no danger of attack, the Congress refused to launch a head-on anti-imperialist offensive; even though the anti-war feeling of the country was intense and the anti-British hatred almost unanimous. But the bourgeoisie was afraid of the masses; and while the Muslims' social reactionaries preached seductive and fanatical communalism, the Congress hardly preached anything at all. Gandhi said at the beginning of his 'individual Civil Disobedience' movement, 1940, for the attainment of free speech, that he knew what independence meant. He has expressed at various times the capitalist fear of a socialist revolution in the event of a successful nationalist one; in October 1939 he said : "If to day the British leave India the Punjabees from the Punjab and Gurkhas from the East will destroy the country. If therefore there could be anyone desirous of maintaining the supremacy of the British in India, it can only be the Congress". He encouraged communalism, which was waxing in any case—he often referred to Hindus and Muslims as 'we' and 'you' respectively; and he said that the Congress "is the only authoritative and representative body of Indian people and of those Hindus who are in spite of their majority weak". In fact, the Congress, it seemed, was joining in the general disruption of mass sentiment—so far was it from yielding to the pressure to lead a mass movement.

To crown all, Gandhi gave up all objectives except non-industrial clothmaking and the preaching of pacifism as an absolute. The bureaucracy was not much disturbed. However, it had no intention of granting pacifist freedom; and the Congress's means of attaining it was 'individual '*satyagraha*'—a means which struck most Muslims, who are virile folk, as singularly fatuous. Mass civil disobedience they might reluctantly accept as a perhaps effective though anaemic policy; individual civil disobedience, a mere symbol of the other, abandoned effectiveness altogether in favour of increased anaemia. Meanwhile, Gandhi was busy turning the Congress from a political organization into a pacifist society. In 1941, various prominent Congressmen (of all communities) resigned, some in disgust, and some on Gandhi's advice because they

were not absolute pacifists. The question presently arose whether anyone might remain in the organization who accepted 'non-violence' only as an expedient political technique, and not as an absolute morality for life. Since the number of Muslims who are absolute pacifists has been negligible, the question had considerable importance. Gandhi answered it publicly by saying that while it was possible for "a person who resists by force a robber robbing his property or an assailant molesting his daughter" to remain in the Congress, yet he *should* not do so, and that he, Gandhi, would unhesitatingly advise such a person to resign. It seemed almost that Muslims were not welcome in the Congress.

The next step of the Congress was to give up even its campaign for freedom of speech. The *satyagraha* movement was called off; in recognition, apparently, of its ridiculousness. The fact was that the social crisis of the late' thirties, heightened by the imperialist war and finally made insistent by the Nazi-Japanese threat both to India and to world socialism, found the Congress, as it found many a middle class througout the world, bankrupt of leadership.

It was during this period that the Congress lost the allegiance of most Muslims; for the very simple and very adequate reason that it was not offering them anything in which they were interested.

The situation subsequently changed. The entry of the U.S.S.R. into the war, and the upsurge of the people's movement throughout the world and not least in Britain, gave the masses of India something for which to hope (and for which to fight) from a victory of the Allies. On the other hand, the entry of Japan brought the menace of fascism to India's door-step, and made vivid the horror that would be involved also for Indians in an Allied defeat. In this situation the Congress demanded a nationalist government to wage the war for India, and at last put a sting in its demand. Thereupon the imperialists locked up all Congress leaders in prison; and when mob fury resulted, they intensified their oppression of the country.

But by this time the Congress had (except in the North-West Frontier) lost effective Muslim support. For instance, few Muslims were amongst those who, spontaneously or in response pro-Japanese organizations, struck out in fury at the government's new repressive attack. After this, Congress activities have been regarded by most Muslims from the outside; we will accordingly leave further consideration of them to a later chapter.

25

MOHAMMADAN MOVEMENTS IN INDIA*

The total population of all-India, without Burma, is 338 millions; of these 77 millions are Muslims. Some of these Muslims are descendants of the Arabs, Afghans, and Turks who came down from the heights of Central Asia in successive waves of conquest, but the greater number are by blood natives of the soil, high-born Rajputs, hardworking Sudras, or lowly outcastes who were converted to Islam by nameless missionaries or by those famous saints whose tombs are to this day visited by countless pilgrims. When these Indians had once become members of the great brotherhood of Islam they adopted the civilization of Bagdad and Shiraz and drew their ideas from the literatures of Arabia and Persia. The Muslim population in India was increased and strengthened from yet another source; from the days of Kutbuddin Aibak in the thirteenth century down to the death of Aurangzeb in the eighteenth century, a continuous stream of soldiers and scholars, of artists and administrators came to take service under Muslim kings from the highly civilized cities of Central Asia; many of these men wrote their names upon the pages of Indian history and founded families which are still held in high esteem. Owing to the caste system of the Hindus, these Muslim invaders and converts were not merged in the general population but remained a distinct people, like the Hungarians in Rumania, or the Germans in the Baltic provinces, proud of their political ascendancy and their superior civilization. After the establishment of British rule, the Muslims gradually lost their preroga-

*Paper of Theodore Morison in *Political India, 1832-1932*, edited by Sir John Cumming, Chapter V.

tives, Persian, which was specifically the Muslim tongue in India, ceased under the Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck (1828-35) to be the official language, and with it the service of the State, which had been for generations the hereditary occupation of the middle and upper classes of Muslim society, passed into other hands. In 1857 came the catastrophe of the Mutiny, for which the English believed, wrongly, that the Muslims were mainly responsible; the phantom sovereignty of the Mogul Emperor was abolished, the noble families which had followed his fallen fortunes were ruined or dispersed, and Delhi ceased to be a Muslim city. All over India Muslim civilization was in evident decay. The Maulvis, the religious leaders of the people, from a mistaken loyalty to Islam, forbade their followers under pain of eternal damnation from acquiring the learning of the *Firanghi* (Franks, i.e. Europeans). The Muslims were thereby excluded from all the liberal professions. For the public services a knowledge of English had now become indispensable; law, medicine, and engineering had been revolutionized by the introduction of European ideas and could only be studied to any purpose in English text-books. While Bengali Hindus, Madrasis, and Marathas inspired by the arts and sciences of Europe were experiencing an intellectual and moral renaissance, the Muslims all over India were falling into a state of material indigence and intellectual decay.

It was in these circumstances that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) started the great movement of thought which was to inspire the Muslims with new life. Sir Syed was first and last a religious reformer; he summoned his people to return to the sanity and simplicity of primitive Islam. He denounced the superstitions and bigotry with which their faith had become encrusted; he told his people that the only instrument which could accomplish this regeneration was education and that education must be on western lines; there was nothing contrary to the principles of Islam, he said, in the acquisition of western learning--as the Maulvis ignorantly proclaimed. Had not the Prophet said : 'Go even to the Walls of China for the sake of learning.' The English were possessed of arts and sciences more valuable than these of China, and from them the Muslims

could learn without danger to their religion, for God himself had said that the true believers would find their best friends in the People of the Book (Christians and Jews). Sir Syed was violently attacked for his courageous opinions and suffered much social persecution, but no persecution could daunt his leonine courage; his great personality prevailed at length over opposition and misrepresentation, and in the last years of his life he exercised a marvellous ascendancy over Muslim opinion. When he was laid to rest by the side of the mosque of the college in Aligarh, a lifelong friend of his said to me: 'Other men have written books and founded colleges; but to arrest as with a wall the degeneration of a whole people, that is the work of a prophet. That remark conveys, in my opinion, a correct judgement of Sir Syed's personality and of the quality of his work. For myself I can say that I have never met another man so great as he.'

Sir Syed was frequently summoned to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General and he had considerable influence upon public policy, but he abstained from political propaganda, which he condemned as dangerous to the country and undesirable for his own people, because it was likely to deflect them from the task of moral and intellectual regeneration—the only thing that mattered. When, however, the Indian National Congress began to criticize the Government and demand the establishment of representative institutions in India upon the pattern of western democracy, he felt obliged to speak out. At Lucknow on 28 December 1887, when the National Congress was holding its third session in Madras, he warned the Muslims of the evils which they would suffer from majority rule and of the bloody consequences of political agitation. He told his hearers that in the existing state of communal temper, Muslims would aways vote for a Muslim candidate at the polls and Hindus for a Hindu candidate; and as the Hindus formed the majority of the population no Muslim would ever be elected. But though he recognized the unhappy state of feeling between Hindus and Muslims, he deplored it. 'There is no person', he said, shortly after his Lucknow speech, 'who desires more than I that friendship and union should exist between the two

peoples of India and that one should help the other. I have often said that India is like a bride whose two eyes are the Hindus and Muslims. Her beauty consists in this that her two eyes be of equal lustre.' And he went on to say: 'I have often my nation to understand that slaughtering cows for the purpose of annoying Hindus is the height of cantankerous folly; if friendship may exist between us and them, that friendship is far to be preferred to the sacrifice of cows'.

Sir Syed Ahmad died in 1898, but the political opinions of which he disapproved suffered no abatement. The demand for representative institutions grew more insistent, and it became apparent that English opinion was favourable to this method of enlarging Indian liberties. The Muslims became so seriously concerned that in 1906 they took a deputation to the Viceroy, Lord Minto, and requested that, if this form of government should be introduced into India, Muslims should be protected by special safeguards; they laid particular stress upon their demand for separate electorates, that is, for the right of themselves electing their own representatives upon municipalities, rural boards, and provincial legislatures. Lord Minto expressed his agreement with the principle for which they contended, and was thus the first to give the Muslims a pledge to which they attach great importance and which has since been often repeated. By their visit to Simla, the leaders of the Muslim community were so convinced that serious changes were impending that they resolved to abandon their aloofness from popular politics, and in December 1906 they founded the All-India Muslim League. From this time forward the Muslims have been an organized party in Indian politics.

Events soon showed the need for some such organization. Very shortly afterwards, the extension of Indian liberties, commonly known as the Morley-Minto reforms, became the subject of public discussion, and the All-India Muslim League was the agency by which vigorous representations were made both in India and in England. The points upon which special emphasis was laid were that in any system of representation introduced into India (1) the Muslims should have the right

of electing their own representatives by means of special electorates, and (2) the nnmber of seats allotted to Muslims should be in excess of their ratio to the general population. The grounds upon which they based the first claim were :

(*a*) In the existing state of tension between the two great communities, no Muslims who sincerely represented the opinions of his community could secure election in a general (i.e. mixed or joint) electorate, since in all but two provinces the Muslims were a minority of the population.

(*b*) If the two communities were not kept apart at the polls every contested election would result in communal riots, accompanied by bloodshed, and would leave bitter memories, which would retard the political integration of the country.

(*c*) Where the system o! separate electorates had been established in municipalities and district boards, it had worked well and secured peace; it had been devised empirically by British officers in order to avoid recurrent disturbances at election times and had in fact proved successful.

The grounds upon which the Muslims based their second claim was that they did in fact command an amount of influence which was greatly in excess of their ratio to the population. In spite of retrogression in recent years, they still formed a very large element in the public service, and Muslim soldiers constituted a large proportion of the Indian Army. By the geographical distribution of the Muslim population they were the gate-keepers of India, and upon them must fall the principal burden of repelling a foreign invasion. They confessed that owing to a mistaken interpretation of the behests of their religion they had lagged behind others in English education, but maintained that their ascendancy, due to historical causes, was a fact which could not be ignored in estimating public opinion.

These claims were combated by the Hindu politicians of the Congress, but were accepted as valid by the Government of India, by the Secretary of State, and by the House of

Commons. On 1 April 1909 Mr. T.R. Buchanan, the Under-Secretary of State for India, said : 'And more than that, particularly with regard to the Muhammadans, they have a special and overwhelming claim upon us namely the solemn promises, giving by those who are entitled with full responsibility to speak for us, that they should get adequate representation to the amount and of a kind they want—a promise given to them by Lord Minto specifically in October 1906, repeated in a despatch by the Secretary of State to a deputation here and in another place. From that promise we cannot go back, we ought not to go back, and we will not go back.' The undertakings thus given were kept, and the claims of the Muslims were satisfied in the enactments which embodied the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909.

It would be a mistake to infer from what has been said above that the Muslims were concerned only with the protection of their own special interests. In fact the Muslims shared most of the aspirations of the educated Hindus; they desired to see the end of racial ascendancy and demanded that the children of the soil should have a voice in the administration of their own country. Upon this point Sir Syed Ahmad had been in advance of the Congress. As early as 1888 he had reproached the British Government with passionate eloquence for not giving commissions in the Army to Indians. 'A second error of Government', he said at Lucknow, 'is that it does not give appointments in the Army to those brave people whose ancestors did not use the pen to write with; no, but a different kind of pen—nor did they use black ink but the ink in which they dipped their pens was the red, red ink which flows from the bodies of men. O brothers, I have fought the Government in the harshest language about these points. The time is, however, coming when my brothers, Pathans, Syeds, Hashimi and Koreishi, whose blood smells of the blood of Abraham, will appear in glittering uniforms as Colonels and Majors in the Army.'

These words deserve to be remembered as evidence of the deep resentment which Muslims have felt, and not in recent

years only, at their exclusion from positions of command. It was a realization that the emancipation which they both desired was retarded by their dissensions, which brought the Hindu and Muslim parties to come to an agreement upon the system of elections and the distribution of administrative posts in the future government. This was the celebrated Lucknow Pact, ratified by the National Congress on 29 December and by the Indian Muslim League on 31 December 1916. According to this scheme the Muslims were to be represented through special electorates on the provincial legislatures in the following proportions : Punjab, 50 per cent. of the Indian elected members; United Provinces, 30 per cent.; Bengal, 40 per cent.; Bihar, 25 per cent.; Central Provinces, 15 per cent.; Madras, 15 per cent.; and Bombay, 33.3 per cent. As regards the All-Indian legislature, it was approved that one-third of the Indian elected members should be Muslims elected by separate Muslim electorates in the several provinces in the proportion as nearly as possible in which they were represented in the provincial Legislative Councils.

This agreements governed the relations between the two communities when the next instalment of popular government was under consideration. In their report of April 1918 Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu discussed 'communal' electorates in the abstract, and they regretted the necessity of retaining them in India. 'At the same time,' they said, 'we must face the hard facts. The Muhammadans were given special representation with separate electorates in 1909. The Hindu acquiescence is embodied in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities. The Muhammadans regard these as settled facts, and any attempt to go back on them would raise a storm of bitter protest.' The claims for which the Muslim League had contended since its foundation in 1906 were recognized in the franchise system which was to be the foundation of 'dyarchy'.

But at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms the Indian Muslims could pay but little attention to internal politics. They were too deeply preoccupied with the fortunes

of Turkey. Ever since Italy's buccaneering raid upon Tripoli, they were convinced that the Christian powers had determined to break up the last remnants of Muslim power. Persia, they saw, was marked out for division between Great Britain and Russia; the Christian states in the Balkans united in an unprovoked assault upon Turkey; France was given by Europe a free hand to exercise a protectorate over Morocco. When the Turks indicated that they were about to enter the Great War on the side of the Central Powers, the Indian Muslims attempted in vain to persuade them to remain neutral. Muslim regiments fought with loyalty and gallantry in Mesopotamia and on the Suez Canal by the side of British regiments, but they had little joy in the defeat of their 'Muslim brethern', and they trusted that after a suitable defeat the Turkish Sultan would be restored to his possessions. The English officers who knew their men were anxious that no harsh terms should be imposed upon the Turks, and it was to secure the continued support of the Muslim troops that the English Prime Minister made his celebrated declaration about the war aims of the Allies in January 1918. 'Nor are we fighting', said Mr. Lloyd George, 'to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race'. When, therefore, the Greek Army was launched upon a campaign against the remnant of the Turkish Army, the Indian Muslims felt intense indignation, and all their sympathies were concentrated upon the tattered battalions that were making the last stand of Islam in the Anatolian mountains. Englishmen sometimes ask why the Indian Muslims should feel so much for the Turks, and the answer they generally receive is : 'Oriental fanaticism'. As a matter of fact their sympathy is not born of bigotry or fanaticism, though there are bigots and fanatics among Muslims as among Christians. It is the sympathy which springs from a common manner of life, common usages, and common ideals. For Islam is more than creed; it is a civilization, just as Christendom is a civilization of another type. There are in the world at least three civilizations plainly distinguishable, the Christian, the Islamic, and the Sino-Japanese civilization of the Far East. Each of

them is a cultural unity within which many nations, though politically independent, share a common intellectual tradition. Christendom is so immeasurably stronger than the two other civilizations that we often forget that there are spiritualties which bind us together. But Marshal Lyautey was conscious of them in 1914 when at the outbreak of the War, he exclaimed : 'Mais ils sont fous ! Ils sont fous ! Une guerre entre Europeens, c'est une guerre civil.' The influence of a common civilization transcends the religious opinions of the individual. An Indian Muslim may be a sceptic but he has none the less sympathy with an Arab or a Truk on account of an identity in social usages and intellectual outlook. I remember discussing this subject with Sir Syed Ahmed in the nineties of last century; he said to me : 'When there were many Muslim kingdoms we did not feel much grief when one of them was destroyed; now that so few are left, we feel the loss of even a small one. If Turkey is conquered that will be a great grief, for she is the last of the great powers left to Islam'. 'We are afraid', he continued, 'that we shall become like the Jews, a people without a country of our own.' The apprehension is just; the characteristics of Islamic civilization can hardly survive under an alien government, especially if that government be a democracy, which inevitably tends towards the standardization of its citizens. The Muslims are not alone in thinking that the world would be poorer if the civilization which inspired the architecture of the Taj and the Alhambra and the poetry of Shaikh Sadi and Umar Khayyam were to perish off the earth.

Cultural affinities are not easy to explain; and though these were, in my opinion, the fundamental reasons for Indian sympathy with the Turks, the leaders of the Khilafat movement decided to rest their case for the restoration of the headship of Islam to the Sultan of Turkey on the narrower ground of an interference with their religion. The late Maulana Muhamad Ali brought a deputation to England and explained to Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, representing the Secretary of State for India, that the Prophet had with his dying breath bidden them preserve the *Jazriat ul Arab* (Arabia, Iraq, Syria, and Palestine) under a purely Muslim Government, and therefore that mandates over

Iraq, Syria, and Palestine were contrary to the religious law of Islam. These theological arguments had no influence on the Allies in Paris, though it is known that the Government of India protested strongly against the harsh provisions imposed upon Turkey by the Treaty of Sevres, and Maulana Muhamed Ali returned to India emptyhanded. There he and his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali began to preach to their co-religionists that the Government of India had trampled the law of Islam under foot, that India was therefore an infidel land, and that it was the duty of the faithful to leave it for other countries in which Islam was respected. In obedience to this call many thousands of simple Muslims joined the *hijrat* (flight) movement, and took part in a sort of exodus from India. In the North-West Frontier Province and Sind hundreds of families sold their land and property for a mere song, settled up their worldly affairs, placed their wives and children in carts, surrendered the Government rifles entrusted to them for protection against marauders, and departed in the direction of the Khyber Pass. It was calculated that in the one month of August 1920 as many as 18,000 people moved in the direction of Afghanistan. So long as they were not interfered with, the emigrants were perfectly peaceful and orderly, on the best terms with the local officials and displaying neither malice nor resentment against any man. In the depths of its religious sincerity, the *hijrat* movement of 1920 resembled the crusades of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the individual suffering which was endured for either cause was very great. Afghanistan is a poor country and quite unable to absorb so large an influx of population. Eventually the Afghan authorities on the border were compelled to turn the *muhajarin* (emigrants) back. As a result the tide of emigration ebbed slowly and fell back to its former home, but the road from Peshawar to Kabul was strewn with graves of old men, women, and children who had succumbed to the hardships of the journey. When the unhappy *muhajarin* returned, they found themselves homeless and penniless; their property which they had sold for a tithe of its value was in the hands of others.

At this juncture a singular partnership upset the familiar

formation of Indian parties. Mr. Gandhi, who professed sympathy for all religious movements, had before now spoken with approval of the Khilafat movement, but he had remained in the Congress camp working for the realization of Hindu policies. He now entered into a close alliance with the leaders of the Khilafat movement, renounced his adhesion to the reforms, and set himself to execute his long-deferred project of applying non-co-operation to India and placed in the forefront of his aims, not the winning of swaraj but the satisfaction of Muslim opinion upon the matter of Khilafat.

In the tumultuous years that followed Mr. Gandhi was drawn by the forceful personality of Maulana Shaukat Ali farther and farther from his fundamental principle of non-violence. The 'Ali brothers', as the press nicknamed them, followed from the first a perfectly intelligible and straight-forward policy. They were, as they frankly declared, Muslims first and everything else afterwards'. At heart they had, I suspect, but little sympathy for the doctrine of non-violence, but they were willing to accept any help for the cause to which they were passionately attached; and if Mr. Gandhi could assist them to wrest from the British Government better terms for the Turk and Khalifa, they were willing to join forces with him. The results of the joint campaign were not long in becoming manifest; appeals to racial hatred and the defiance of authority soon produced their inevitable consequences; a tide of riot and disorder swept over the country, culminating in a rising of the Moplahs in Malabar in which not British officials but Hindu priests and shop-keepers, landlords and moneylenders were the principal victims. Mr. Gandhi was persuaded by his impetuous coadjutors to speak in praise of 'the brave God-fearing Moplahs', but his Hindu followers began to display an increasing distrust of his political wisdom. On 10 March 1922 Mr. Gandhi was arrested and the artificial coalition between his ill-assorted followers dropped to pieces.

The years that followed were marked by an ever-growing tension between Hindus and Muslims; street affrays and riots were reported from most of the principal cities. In the five

years between 1922 and 1927, 450 lives were lost and 5,000 persons injured in communal disturbances. The reason for the steady growth of enmity is not far to seek. It was now patent to every one in India that a further advance in self-government was at hand; the majority let it be clearly understood that self-government was going to be Hindu-government and the minority girded up their loins for a battle in which their existence was at stake. It would be impossible to enumerate the countless disturbances which followed; the announcements in the daily papers followed so fast one upon another as to create the impression that the Pax Britannica had disappeared. The most ferocious, but not the last, occurred on 24 March 1931 at Cawnpore; it originated in a cessation of labour proclaimed by the Cawnpore Congress committee to mark their disapprobation of the execution of an assassin, Bhagat Singh. On this occasion murders, arson, and lootings were widespread for three days; the number of verified deaths was 300, but the death roll was probably between four and five hundred. Many temples and mosques were desecrated or burnt or destroyed, and a very large number of houses were burnt or pillaged.

During this disturbed period the Muslim leaders held many meetings and conferences to reconcile differences of opinion amongst themselves and to formulate a Muslim policy. At Delhi on 1 January 1929 the All-India Muslim Conference passed a carefully worded resolution which may be accepted as an authoritative statement of Muslim opinion. It is here reproduced *in extenso*.

'Whereas, in view of India's vast extent and its ethnological, linguistic, administrative and geographical or territorial divisions, the only form of Government suitable to Indian condition is a federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent States, the Central Government having control only of such matters of common interest as may be specifically entrusted to it by the constitution;

'And whereas it is essential that no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters be

moved, discussed or passed by any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourth majority of the members of either Hindu or the Muslim community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, resolution, motion or amendment;

'And whereas the right of Muslims to elect their representatives on the various Indian legislatures through separate electorates is now the law of the land and Muslims cannot be deprived of that right without their consent;

'And whereas in the conditions existing at present in India and so long as those conditions continue to exist, representation in various legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies of Muslims through their own separate electorates is essential in order to bring into existence a really representative democratic Government;

'And whereas as long as Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the constitution they will in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates, whether with or without conditions;

'And whereas, for the purposes aforesaid, it is essential that Musalmans should have their due share in the central and provincial cabinets;

'And whereas it is essential that representation of Musalmans in the various legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies should be based on a plan whereby the Muslim majority in those provinces where Musalmans constitute a majority of the population shall in no way be affected and in the provinces in which Musalmans constitute a minority they shall have a representation in no case less than that enjoyed by them under the existing law;

And whereas representative Muslim gatherings in all provinces in India have unanimously resolved that with a view to provide adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests in India as a whole, Musalmans should have the right

of 33 per cent, representation of the central legislature and this conference entirely endorses that demand;

'And whereas on ethnological, linguistic, geographical and administrative grounds the province of Sind has no affinity whatever with the rest of Bombay Presidency and its unconditional constitution into a separate province, possessing its own separate legislative and administrative machinery, on the same lines as in other provinces of India is essential in the interests of its people, the Hindu minority in Sind being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in the population, as may be given to Musalmans in provinces in which they constitute a minority of population;

'And whereas the introduction of constitutional reforms in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan along such lines as may be adopted in other provinces of India is essential not only in the interests of those provinces but also of the constitutional advance of India as a whole, the Hindu minorities in those provinces being given adequate and effective representation in excess of their proportion in population, as is given to the Muslim community in provinces in which it constitutes a minority of the population;

'And whereas it is essential in the interests of Indian administration that provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims their adequate share along with other Indians in all services of the State and on all statutory self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency;

'And whereas, having regard to the political conditions obtaining in India, it is essential that the Indian constitution should embody adequate safeguards for protection and promotion of Muslim education, languages, religion, personal law and Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid;

'And whereas it is essential that the constitution should provide that no change in the Indian constitution shall, after

its inauguration, be made by the central legislature except with the concurrence of all the States constituting the Indian federation;

'This Conference emphatically declares that no constitution, by whomsoever proposed or devised, will be acceptable to Indian Musalmans unless it conforms with the principles embodied in this resolution.'[1]

As regards the communal issue, an award was made by the British Government in August 1932 (Cmd. 4147, 1932).

A review of the political activities of the Indian Muslims during the last half-century shows them to have pursued a fairly consistent policy. They have resented the treatment of Indians as an inferior race and have claimed association in the government on terms of absolute equality. They have supported all measures for liberalizing the administration though not by methods of agitation and terrorism. On the other hand, they have never shown much enthusiasm for popular government. Within their own community, social democracy exists to an extent not yet achieved in England, but of political democracy they are sceptical. From the days of their ascendancy they have inherited a very sane and objective conception of the duties and difficulties of governing a country. They know that the great masses of the Indian population are uneducated and particularly liable to gusts of passion and religious emotion—their own community not excepted : they are not, therefore, easily convinced of the wisdom of entrusting the fortunes of the State to such hands. However, as the British refused, on the one hand, to admit Indians to the higher ranks of the Civil Service and the Army, and, on the other, were positively eager to extend popular (i.e. Indian) control on municipal boards, district boards, and legislatures, they accepted this as the only line of advance open to them. But as

1. For further details of Muslim claims, see *Indian Round Table Conference (Second Session) Proceedings of Committee* (1932) Appendix III, p. 550.

soon as it became clear that policy was to be determined by popular vote, they were compelled to consider very seriously what sort of a position they as a community would hold in the India of the future. For this reason their political activities have in the main been devoted to the elaboration of safeguards which would secure them from oppression by a hostile majority, but they have found it very difficult to convince public opinion in England and in India of the necessity or desirability of these precautions. Their reasoning ran on the following lines. Politicians in India and in England are usually ignorant of any political history but that of Great Britain and possibly France; on this knowledge they base some such general conclusions as this : certain countries marked red, blue, or yellow on the map are inhabited by individuals who all speak the same language, all share the same intellectual outlook on life, and all are bound together by the same memories of national glory or national misfortune; even if they differ from one another about religion, they look upon themselves as one people and wish to remain associated under one national government. As India is all coloured red on the map, it is assumed that all its inhabitants are actuated by similar motives, and it seems therefore perverse or in-explicable of the Muslims to demand special treatment and to ask to be protected from the enmity of neighbours with whom they share the soil. They appear to deny the principle on which national states are founded. When Englishmen looked a little more deeply into the Indian problem, they were willing to concede that some redistribution of provincial frontiers on linguistic lines might be desirable, but they found it harder to realize that two or more distinct peoples might live side by side intermingled in town and village and yet each be conscious of a distinct nationality. Yet this is quite plainly the case in India and in many other countries. The Hindus and Muslims who inhabit one village, one town, or one district belong to two separate nations more distinct and spiritually farther as under than two European nations. France and Germany are to Europeans the standard example of enemy nations, and yet a young Frenchman may go to Germany for business or study, he may take up his residence

with a German family, share their meals and go with them to the same place of worship; eventually he may marry the daughter of the house and nobody will find therein matter for scandal or surprise. No Muslim can live on such terms in a Hindu family. Sir Abdur Rahim once put this point clearly and courageously : 'Any of us Indian Muslims travelling for instance in Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, and Turks, would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow townsmen live.' It is not only in the customs and usages which mark their external life that the two people differ; the sources of their moral and intellectual inspiration are different. The Muslim is inspired by the great literatures of Arabia and Persia, his conduct is influenced by the precepts of Sadi or of the great saints of Islam. The Hindu venerates myriads of gods, demi-gods, and demons of whose very name the Muslim is ignorant, and his daily life is governed by an elaborate code of rules the very reason of which is as unintelligible to the Muslim as to the Christian. Even their newspapers, their novels, and current literature are mutually unintelligible. The Muslim reads his script from right to left, the Hindu books and newspapers are printed from left to right. But it is useless to enumerate the grounds of difference between Hindu and Muslim; the only thing that matters is that they do in fact feel and think of themselves as separate peoples. In all disquisitions on nationality this is the only test which is found to cover all cases. If a certain body of persons think of themselves as one nation and are willing to endure tribulation and material losses in order to remain together, then they are one people; if they cannot pass this acid test, they are not. Judged by this standard the Muslims of India are a nation. Communal differences, as they are called, are really national jealousies. That is why Sir Muhammad Iqbal declared 'the problem of India as international, not national'.

26

WRONGS OF MUHAMMADANS UNDER BRITISH RULE*

The Indian Musalmans, therefore, are bound by their own law to live peaceably under our Rule. But the obligation continues only so long as we perform our share of the contract, and respect their rights and spiritual privileges. Once let us interfere with their civil and religious status (*Aman*), so as to prevent the fulfilment of the ordinances of their Faith, and their duty to us ceases. We may enforce submission, but we can no longer claim obedience. It is the glory of the English in India, however, that they have substituted for the military occupation of all former conquerors, a Civil Government adapted to the wants and supported by the goodwill of the people. Any serious wrong done to the Muhammadans would render such a Government impossible. Even minor grievances attain in their case the gravity of political blunders—blunders of which the cumulative effect, according to the law of Islam, would be to entirely change the relation of the Musalmans to the ruling power, to free them from their duty as subjects and bind them over to treason and Holy War.

Of such blunders the Indian Government has, in my humble opinion, been more than once guilty. But before pointing out what I conceive to be our shortcomings, I beg it to be distinctly understood that my remarks refer only to those Muhammadans who peaceably accept the British Rule. The foregoing Chapters establish the two great facts of a standing Rebel Camp on the Frontier, and a chronic

* From W.W. Hunter : ***Indian Musalmans***, Chapter IV.

conspiracy within the Empire. The English Government can hold no parley with traitors in arms. Those who appeal to the sword must perish by the sword. Herr Teufelsdrockh's simile of the Alpine hamlet, Peace established in the bosom of Strength, applies in a nobler sense to the Indian Empire; and the first moment that the English in that country cease to be able, from financial or from any other reasons, to go to war upon a just cause, they had better take shipping from the nearest ports.

With regard also, to the traitors within our territory, justice must have free course; but justice tempered with mercy, and mitigated by a knowledge of the not ignoble motives which lead men, sincerely good according to their lights, into treason. The powers of arrest granted by the Legislature to the Executive enable the Government to deal with the evil. The ring-leaders suffer the penalty of personal restraint, without obtaining the glory of a public appearance on behalf of their faith. Even those sentenced to transportation for life by the Courts are treated with contemptuous leniency by the Government, being generally returned in a few years to the Muhammadan Community, as apostates to the Wahabi cause. Any attempt to stamp out the conspiracy by wholesale prosecutions would fan the zeal of the fanatics into a flame, and array on their side the sympathies of all devout Musalmans. The distempered class must be segregated without the slightest feeling of resentment, and indeed with the utmost gentleness but with absolute strength.

But while firm towards disaffection, we are bound to see that no just cause exists for discontent. Such an inquiry would with more dignity have been conducted before pressure had been brought to bear from without. Concessions made when confronted by a great conspiracy, have small pretension to generosity or gracefulness. But if in any matter we have hitherto done injustice to the Muhammadans, it would be mischievous vanity to allow considerations of this sort to delay our doing justice now. The British Government of India is

strong enough to be spared the fear of being thought weak. It can shut up the traitors in its jails, but it can segregate the whole party of sedition in a nobler way—by detaching from it the sympathies of the general Muhammadan Community. This however, it can do only by removing that chronic sense of wrong which has grown up in the hearts of the Musalmans under British Rule.

For there is no use shutting our ears to the fact that the Indian Muhammadans arraign us on a list of charges as serious as had ever been brought against a government. They accuse us of having closed every honourable walk of life to professors of their creed. They accuse us of having introduced a system of education which leaves their whole community unprovided for, and which has landed it in contempt and beggary. They accuse us of having brought misery into thousands of families, by abolishing their Law Officers, who gave the sanction of religion to the marriage tie, and who from time immemorial have been the depositories and administrators of the Domestic Law of Islam. They accuse us of imperilling their souls, by denying them the means of performing the duties of their faith. Above all, they charge us with deliberate malversation of their religious foundations, and with misappropriation on the largest scale of their educational funds. Besides these specific counts, which they believe susceptible of proof, they have a host of sentimental grievances, perhaps of little weight with the unimaginative British mind, but which not less in India than in Ireland keep the popular heart in a state of soreness to their Rulers. They declare that we, who obtained our footing in Bengal as the servants of a Muhammadan Empire, have shown no pity in the time of our triumph, and with the insolence of upstarts have trodden our former masters into the mire. In a word, the Indian Musalmans arraign the British Government for its want of sympathy, for its want of magnanimity, for its mean malversation of their funds, and for great public wrongs spread over a period of one hundred years.

How far these charges are true, how far they are inevitable, I propose at some length to inquire. But I beg the reader

to bring to this examination of our conduct towards the Muhammadans at large, a mind free from any petty resentment against the section of them whose misdeeds the foregoing chapters have recited. Insurrection and fanatical ebullitions are the natural incidents of an alien Rule; and so long as the English remain worthy of keeping India, they will know how to deal alike with domestic traitors and with frontier rebels. For my own part, once I have opened the case for the Muhammadan community, I shall make no further reference to these misguided Wahabis. But in order that I may afterwards keep silence about them, I shall here quote certain statements by the two Englishmen who, of all the present generation, are most competent to pronounce on the connection between Musalman grievances and Musalman seditions. In India, the line between sullen discontent and active disaffection is a very narrow one, and our inattention to the wants of the peaceable Muhammadans in Bengal has enlisted their sympathies on the side of a class whom they would otherwise shrink from as firebrands and rebels.

The officer in charge of the Wahabi prosecutions[1] lately wrote : 'I attribute the great hold which Wahabi doctrines have on the mass of the Muhammadan peasantry to our neglect of their education.' He then goes on to show how the absence of a career under our rule affects, in an equally pernicious way, the higher classes, for whose instruction our schools do make some slight provision. 'In the Amballa Trial will be found a case exactly in point. 'Osman Ali, a man personally known to me, says : "About three years since I had occasion to go to Jessor. There I met the Chief Bailiff of the Judge's Court. He asked me of my state. I said my fortunes were much broken. He answered, 'You are an educated man, and ought not to be in distress. If you like what I am going to tell you, you will do well'. I asked, 'What is it ?' He replied, "Take your scriptures in your hand, and go into the neighbouring Districts, and preach the injunctions of your creed to the people; and when you see likely men, induce them to go on the Crescentade.' Accordingly I preached throughout the neighbouring Districts. Many people gave me money." Here is a man, who from

what I have known of him, I believe preached partly from belief and partly for money. The whole country has been overrun by such men They have excited the peasantry, and *the Ambeyla campaign has shown us that they are not to be depised and that the timid Bengali will, under certain conditions, fight as fiercely as an Afghan.*'

'Is it any subject for wonder,' writes a still higher authority,'[2] that they have held aloof from a system which, however good in itself, made no concession to their prejudices, made in fact no provision, for what they esteemed their necessities, and which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests, and at variance with all their social traditions ?

The educated Muhammadan, confident in his old training, sees himself practically excluded from the share of power and of the emoluments of Government which he hitherto had almost monopolized, and sees these and all the other advantages of life passed into the hands of the hated Hindu. Discontent—a feeling if not of actual religious persecution, yet of neglect on account (indirectly) of his religious views—has filled the minds of the better educated. Their fanaticism, for which ample warrant can always be found in the Kuran, has been hotly excited, until at last there is danger that the entire Muhammadan community will rapidly be transformed into a mass of disloyal ignorant fanatics on the one hand, with a small class of men highly educated in a narrow fashion on the other, high fanatic, and not unwarrantably discontented, exercising an enormous influence over their ignorant fellow-Muhammadans.'

But, indeed, from the highest official to the lowest (and no one has penetrated into the wrongs of the Musalmans more deeply than the present Viceroy), there is now a firm conviction that we have failed in our duty to the Muhammadan subjects of the Queen. A great section of the Indian population, some thirty millions in number, finds itself decaying under British Rule. They complain that they, who but yesterday were the conquerors and governors of the land, can find no subsistance

in to-day. Any answer based on their own degeneracy is a *potitio principii.* for their degeneracy is but one of the results of our political ignorance and neglect. Before the country passed under one rule, the Musalmans professed the same faith, ate the same food, and in all essentials live the same lives, as they do now. To this day they exhibit at intervals their old intense feeling of nationality and capability of warlike enterprise; but in all other respects they are a race ruined under British rule.

For this decay we are not entirely to blame. The Musalmans can no longer, with due regard to the rights of the Hindus, enjoy their former monopoly of Government employ. This ancient sources of wealth is dried up, and the Muhammadans must take their chance under a Government which knows no distinction of colour or creed. As haughty and careless conquerors of India, they managed the subordinate administration by Hindus, but they kept all the higher appointments in their own hands. For example, even after the enlightened reforms of Akbar, the distribution of the great offices of State stood thus : — Among the twelve highest appointments, with the title[3] of Commander of more than Five Thousand Horse, not one was a Hindu.[4] In the succeeding grades, with the title of Commander of from Five Thousand to Five Hundred Horse, out of 252 officers, only 31 were Hindus under Akbar. In the second next reign, out of 609 Commanders of these grades, only 110 were Hindus; and even among the lowest grades of the higher appointments, out of 163 commanders of from Five Hundred of Two Hundred Horse, only 26 were Hindus.

It would be unreasonable for the Muhammadans to expect any such monopoly of offices under the English Government. But this is not their petition and complaint. It is not that they have ceased to retain the entire State Patronage, but that they are gradually being excluded from it altogether. It is not that they must now take an equal chance with the Hindus in the race of life, but that, at least in Bengal, they have ceased to have a chance at all. In short, it is a people with great traditions and without a career.

When such a people have co-religionists in India numbering thirty millions of men, it becomes a question of not less importance to their rulers than to themselves to know what to do with them.

The greater part of the peasant population throughout Eastern Bengal is Muhammadan. In those districts of overwhelming rivers and boundless swamps, the aborigines were never admitted into the respectable Hindu community. The Aryan migration southward had not penetrated in sufficient strength into the seaboard and Deltaic tracts, to thoroughly pound down in the Brahmanical mortar the earlier people of the soil. They accordingly remained beyond the pale of Hinduism, out-castes fishing in their remote estuaries, and reaping hazardous rice crops from their flooded lands, without social status on religious rites.[5] So impure are they, that a Brahman of the highest caste cannot settle among them without taints[6] and in a few generations his descendants cease to have *jus connubii* with the Brahman community a few days' journey to the north, from which they sprang.[7] The Muhammadans recognised no such distinctions. They came down upon the country, sometimes as military colonists, sometimes as heads of great reclamation enterprises in the Deltaic Districts. Even in an old settled District like Jessor, the earliest traditions begin with an enterprise of the latter sort.[8] All the primeval heroes of the inner parts of India slew monster beasts, quelled demon tribes, and hewed down the all-covering forest; so the first object that looms on the pre-historic horizon in Deltaic tracts is the man who pushed forward tillage into the regions formerly the prey of the sea.

The Musalmans led several of these great land reclamation colonies of the southward, and have left their names in Eastern Bengal as the first dividers of the water from the land. The sportsman comes across their dykes, and metalled roads, and mosques, and tanks, and tombs, in the loneliest recesses of the jungle; and wherever they went, they spread their faith, partly by the sword, but chiefly by a bold appeal

to the two great instincts of the popular heart. The Hindus had never admitted the amphibious population of the Delta within the pale of their community. The Muhammadans offered the plenary privileges of Islam to Brahman and out caste alike : 'Down on your knees, every one of you', preached these fierce missionaries, 'before the Almighty, in whose sight all men are equal, all created beings as the dust of the earth. There is no God but the one God, and His messenger is Muhammad'. The battle-cry of the warrior became, as soon as the conquest was over, the text of the divine.

To this day the peasantry of the Delta is Muhammadan. So firmly did Islam take hold of Lower Bengal, that it has developed a religious literature and a popular dialect of its own. The *patois* known as Musalman Bengali is as distinct from the Urdu of Upper India, as Urdu is different from the Persian of Herat. Interpersed among these rural masses are landed houses of ancient pedigree and of great influence. Indeed, the remains of a once powerful and grasping Musalman aristocracy dot the whole Province, visible monuments of their departed greatness. At Murshidabad a Muhammadan Court still plays its farce of mimic state, and in every District the descendant of some line of princes sullenly and proudly eats his heart out among roofless palaces and weed-choked tanks. Of such families I have personally known several. Their ruined mansions swarm with grown-up sons and daughters, with grandchildren and nephews and nieces, and not one of the hungry crowd has a chance of doing anything for himself in life. They drag on a listless existence in patched-up verandas or leaky outhouses, sinking deeper and deeper into a hopeless abyss of debt, till the neighbouring Hindu money-lender fixes a quarrel on them, and then in a moment a host of mortgages foreclose, and the ancient Musalman family is suddenly swallowed up and disappears for ever.

If an individual instance is demanded, I would cite the Rajas of Nagar. When the British first came into contact

with them their yearly revenues, after two centuries of folly and waste, amounted to fifty thousand pounds. From the pillared gallery of their place the Rajas looked across a principality which now makes up two English Districts. Their mosques and countless summer pavillions glittered round the margin of an artificial lake, and cast their reflections on its surface, unbroken by a single water-weed. A gilded barge proudly cut its way between the private staircase and an island in the centre covered with flowering shrubs. Soldiers relieved guard on the citadel; and ever, as the sun declined, the laugh of many children and the tinkling of ladies' lutes rose from behind the well of the Princesses' garden. Of the citadel nothing now remains but the massive entrance. From the roofless walls of the mosques the last stucco ornament has long since tumbled down. The broad gardens with their trim canals have returned to jungle or been converted into rice-fields. Their well-stocked fish ponds are dank, filthy hollows. The sites of the summer pavillions are marked by mounds of brick-dust, with here and there a fragmentary wall, whose slightly arched Moorish window looks down desolately upon the scene.

But most melancholy of all is the ancient Royal Lake. The palace rises from its margin, not, as of old, a fairy pillared edifice, but a dungeon-looking building, whose whether-stained walls form a fitting continuation to the green scum which putrefies on the water below.[9] The gallery is a tottering deserted place. The wretched women who bedeck themselves with the title of princesses[10] no more go forth in the covered barge at evening. Their luxurious zenana is roofless, and its inhabitants have been removed to a mean tenement overlooking a decayed stable-yard. Of all the bygone grandeur of the House of Nagar, a little watercourse alone remains unchanged, holding its way through the dank solitudes in the same channel by which it flowed amid the ancient palaces, and remind the spectator in its miniature way of the one immutable relic of antiquity in Rome :

'Ne ought save Tyber hast'ning to his fall
Remaines of all : O world's inconstancie !
That which is firms doth fit and fall away,
And that is flitting doth abide and stay'.[11]

In a corner of the dilapidated palaces, the representative of the race mopes away his miserable days, chewing drugged sweetmeats, and looking dreamily out on the weedchoked lake. If any statesman wishes to make a sensation in the House of Commons, he has only to truly narrate the history of one of Muhammadan families of Bengal. He would first depict the ancient venerable Prince ruling over a wide territory at the head of his own army, waited on through life by a numerous household, with all the stately formality of an Eastern Court, and his death-bed soothed by founding mosques and devising religious trusts. He would then portray the half-idiot descendant of the present time, who hides away when he hears of an English shooting party in his jungles, and when at length dragged forth by his servants to pay the courtesy due to the strangers, lapses into a monotonous whimper about some tradesman's execution for a few hundred rupees which had just taken place in his palace.

I have dwelt at some length on the Musalman peasantry and the Musalman aristocracy of Bengal, in order to bring clearly before the English eye the class of people with whose grievances this chapter deals. I would further premise that my remarks apply only to Lower Bengal, the Provinces with which I am best acquainted, and in which, so far as I can learn, the Muhammadans have suffered most severely under British Rule. I should be sorry to believe, or to convey to the reader the belief, that the following remarks were predicable of all the Muhammadans of India.

If ever a people stood in need of a career, it is the Musalman aristocracy of Lower Bengal. Their old sources of wealth have run dry. They can no longer sack the stronghold of a neighbouring Hindu nobleman; send out a score of troopers to pillage the peasantry; levy tolls upon travelling

merchants; purchase exemption through a friend at Court from their land-tax; raise a revenue by local cesses on marriage, births, harvest-homes, and every other incident of rural life; collect the excise on their own behoof, with further gratifications for winking at the sale of forbidden liquors during the sacred month of Ramazan. The administration of the Imperial Taxes was the first great source of income in Bengal, and the Musalman aristocracy monopolized it.[12] The Police was another great sources of income, and the Police was officered by Muhammadans. The Courts of Law were a third great source of income, and the Musalmans monopolized them. Above all, there was the army, an army not officered by gentlemen who make little more than bank interest on the price of their commissions, but a great confederation of conquerors who enrolled their peasantry into troops and drew pay from the State for them as soldiers. A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor: at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich.

The Muhammadan aristocracy, in short, were conquerors, and claimed as such the monopoly of Government. Occasionally a Hindu financier, and more seldom a Hindu general, came to the surface,[13] but the conspicuousness of such instance is the best proof of their rarity. Three distinct streams of wealth ran perennially into the coffers of a noble Musalman House—Military command, the Collection of the Revenue, and Judicial or political Employ. These were its legitimate sources of greatness, and besides them were Court Services, and a hundred nameless avenues to fortune. The latter I have indicated at the beginning of the last paragraph, and of them I shall not further speak; but confining myself to the three fair and ostensible monopolies of official life, I shall examine what remains of them to the Musalman families of Lower Bengal under British Rule.

The first of them, the Army, is now completely closed. No Muhammadan gentleman of birth can enter our Regiments; and even if a place could be found for him in our military

system, that place would no longer be a source of wealth.[14] Personally, I believe that, sooner or later, the native aristocracy of India must, under certain restrictions, be admitted as Commissioned Officers in the British Army.[15] The supreme command of any regiment must always be vested in an Englishman. Indeed, great care would be required before the experiment can be entered upon at all; but the warlike peoples of Northern India could turn out under their own hereditary leaders, a light cavalry second to none in the world. Such employment would be eagerly sought after. No commissioned officer now-a-days expects to make a fortune by serving the Queen, and the Muhammadans are perfectly aware of this. But they covet the honours and decent emoluments of a military career, and bitterly feel that their hereditary occupation is gone.

The second support of the Musalman aristocracy was the collection of the Land Revenue. The monopoly had its roots deep in the canon and public law of Islam. The payment of taxes was a badge of conquest; and to the conquerors accrued not only the revenue, but also the profitable duty of collecting it. It can never be too often insisted upon, however, that in India the relation of the conquerors to the native population was regulated rather by political necessity than by the Muhammadan Code. The haughty foreigners despised the details of collection, and left it to their Hindu bailiffs to deal directly with the peasantry. So universal was this system, that Akbar successfully defended the selection of a Hindu for his Minister of Finance by referring to it. On Todar Mall's appointment as Chancellor of the Empire, the Musalman princes sent a deputation to remonstrate. 'Who manages your properties and grants of land ?' replied the Emperor. 'Our Hindu agents,' they answered. 'Very good,' said Akbar, 'allow me also to appoint a Hindu to manage my estates'.

While the higher fiscal posts remained in the hands of the Musalmans, the direct dealing with the husbandman was thus vested in their Hindu bailiffs. The Hindus, in fact, formed a subordinate Revenue Service, and took their share of the

profits before passing the collections on to their Muhammadan superiors. The latter, however, were responsible to the Emperor, and formed a very essential link in the Muhammadan fiscal system. They enforced the Land Tax, not by any process of the Civil Courts, but by the sharp swords of troopers. Arrears were realised by quartering a marauding banditti upon a District, who hurried the village till the last penny was paid up. The husbandmen and Hindu bailiffs constantly tried to get off at less than the fixed sum; the superior Musalman officers ceaselessly endeavoured to extort more than it.[16]

The English obtained Bengal simply as the Chief Revenue Officer of the Delhi Emperor. Instead of buying the appointment by a fat bribe, we won it by the sword. But our legal title was simply that of the Emperor's Diwan or Chief Revenue Officer.[17] As such, the Musalmans hold that we were bound to carry out the Muhammadan system which we then undertook to administer. There can be little doubt, I think, that both parties to the treaty at the time understood this,[18] although the grants and treaties do not in my opinion bind us down. For some years the English maintained the Muhammadan officers in their posts; and when they began to venture upon reforms, they did so with a caution bordering upon timidity. The greatest blow which we dalt to the old system was in one sense an underhand one, for neither the English nor the Muhammadans foresaw its effects. This was the series of changes introduced by Lord Cornwallis and John Shore, ending in the Permanent Settlement of 1793. By it we usurped the functions of those higher Musalman Officers who had formerly subsisted between the actual Collector and the Government, and whose dragoons were the recognised machinery for enforcing the Land-Tax. Instead of the Musalman Revenue-farmers with their troopers and spearmen, we placed an English Collector in each District, with an unarmed fiscal police attached like common bailiffs to his court. The Muhammadan nobility either lost their former connection with the Land Tax, or became mere landholders, with an inelastic title to a part of the profits of the soil.

The Permanent Settlement, however, consummated rather than introduced this change. It was in another respect that it most seriously damaged the position of the great Muhammadan Houses. For the whole tendency of the Settlement was to acknowledge as the land-holders the subordinate Hindu officers who dealt directly with the husbandmen. I have carefully gone over the MS. Settlement Report of 1788-1790: and notwithstanding the clauses touching intermediate holders in the Code of 1793, it is quite clear to me that our Revenue Officers of those days had an eye to only three links in the previous system—the State, the local agent or landholder who collected direct from the peasantry, and the husbandman who tilled the soil. These were the three features of the former administration requisite to our new plan, and by degrees all the other links of the Muhammadan Revenue System were either extruded or allowed to drop out. For example, the provisions respecting the separation of Independent Talukdars or subordinate tenure holders, who held from the superior Musalman lord by a perpetual lease, and paid their Land-Tax direct to the State, were in themselves fatal to the greatness of many a Muhammadan House. Such a family, although it might grant away part of its territory in permanent farm, always exercised a sort of jurisdiction over its subordinate holders, and, when occasion demanded, managed to extract cesses or benevolences, in short, money in one form or another, from them. The officer who has studied the Permanent Settlement most minutely in connection with the present Muhammadan disaffection writes thus: 'It elevated the Hindu collectors, who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil, and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own Rule'.[19]

This, then, is the first public wrong on which the Muhammadan aristocracy arraign the British Government. They assert that we obtained the administration of Bengal from a Musalman Emperor on the understanding that we would carry out the Musalman system, and that as soon as we found ourselves strong enough we broke through this engagement.

Our reply is, that when we came to look into the Muhammadan Administration of Bengal, we found it so one-sided, so corrupt, so absolutely shocking to every principle of humanity, that we should have been a disgrace to civilisation had we retained it. We can prove from the records of every District, that Revenue was the sole object of the Musalman Government. 'Almost all the functions of Administration were heaped upon the Collectors of the Land Tax, and they might do pretty much as they pleased so long as they discharged their revenue. The people were oppressed in order that the landholder might have his rent and were plundered in order that the landholder's servants might become rich. Complaint against wrong was useless. The landholder or his officer had it entirely in his own option whether he should listen to it or not; and the complainant had very little chance of relief, for the oppressor was often the landholder's servant, and the plunderer, even if they took the trouble to trace him, would not find it difficult to make friends with his captors'.[20]

The truth is that, under the Muhammadans, government was an engine for enriching the few, not for protecting the many. It never seems to have touched the hearts or moved the consciences of the rulers, that a vast population of husbandmen was toiling bare-backed in the heat of summer and in the rain of autumn, in order that a few families in each District might lead lives of luxurious ease. It is only after we had begun to break away from the system which we had virtually engaged to uphold, that the existence of the people discloses itself. The greatest wrong which we did to the Musalman aristocracy was in defining their rights. Up to that period their title had not been permanent, but neither had it been fixed. At a costly sacrifice of the acknowledged claims of the ruling power, we gave them their tenures in perpetuity; but in doing so, we rendered these tenures inelastic. A race of men accustomed for centuries to the privilege of contemptuous plunder, could not, however, learn the peaceful art of managing their estates by the mere stroke of a Governor-General's pen. The Musalman monopoly of rural oppression ceased, and the

Resumption Laws thirty years later put a finishing stroke to their fortunes. To these laws I shall have to devote some paragraphs further on, and at present shall only say that they enriched the State by means of a stricter construction of title deeds than the Muhammadans had ever been accustomed to under their own Emprerors. During the last seventy-five years the Musalman Houses of Bengal have either disappeared from the earth, or are at this moment being submerged beneath the new strata of society which our Rule has developed—haughty, insolent, indolent, but still the descendants of nobles and conquerors to the last.

With regard, therefore, to the first two great sources of Muhammadan wealth, *viz.*, the Army and the higher administration of the Revenues, we had good reasons for what we did, but our action has brought ruin upon Muhammadan Houses of Bengal. We shut the Musalman aristocracy out of the Army, because we believed that their exclusion was necessary to our own safety. We deprived them of their monopoly of the most lucrative functions in the Administration, because their deprivation was essential to the welfare and just government of the people. But these grounds, however good in themselves, fail to convince an ancient nobility suffering under the blight of British Rule. Their exclusion from the Army seems to the Musalmans a great public wrong; our departure from their ancient fiscal system, an absolute breach of faith.

The third source of their greatness was their monopoly of Judicial, Political, or in brief, Civil Employ. It would be unfair to lay much stress on the circumstance, but it is nevertheless a significant fact, that none of the native gentlemen who have won their way into the Covenanted Civil Service, or up to the bench of the High Court, are Musalmans. Yet for some time after the country passed under our care, the Musalmans retained all the functions of Government in their own hands. Musalman Collectors, as we have seen, gathered the Land-Tax; Musalman *Faujdars* and *Ghatwals* officered the Police. A great Musalman Department, with its headquarters in the Nizam's palace at Murshidabad, and a network of

officials spreading over every District in the Province, administered the Criminal Law. Musalman Jailors took bribes from, or starved at their discretion, the whole prison population of Bengal. Kazis or Muhammadan Doctors of low sat in the Civil and Domestic Courts. Even when we attempted to do justice by means of trained English officers, the Muhammadan Law Doctors sat with them as their authoritative advisers on point of law. The Code of Islam remained the law of the land, and the whole ministerial and subordinate offices of Government continued the property of the Musalmans. They alone could speak the official language, and they alone could read the official records written in the Persian current hand.[31] The Cornwallis Code broke this monopoly less violently in the Judicial than in the Revenue departments, but for the first fifty years of the Company's Rule the Musalmans had the lion's share of State patronage. During its second half century of power the tide turned, at first slowly, but with a constantly accelerating pace, as the imperative duty of conducting public business in the vernacular of the people, and not in the foreign *patois* of its former Muhammadan conquerors, became recognised. Then the Hindus poured into, and have since completely filled, every grade of official life. Even in the District Collectorates of Lower Bengal, where it is still possible to give appointments in the old fashioned friendly way, there are very few young Musalman officials.[32] The Muhammadans who yet remain in them are white-bearded men, and they have no successors. Even ten years ago, the Musalmans invariably managed to transmit the post of Nazir, or Chief of the Revenue Bailiffs to men of their own creed; but now one or two unpopular appointments about the jail are the most that the former masters of India can hope for. The staff of clerks attached to the various offices, the responsible posts in the Courts, and even the higher offices in the Police are recruited from the pushing Hindu Youth of the Government School.[33]

Proceeding from the unconspicuous mass of non-gazetted officials to the higher grades, the question passes from the sphere of individual observation into the unquestionable

domain of statistics. Two years ago I put forth a series of articles,[24] showing how completely the Judicial and Revenue Services in Bengal, in which the appointments are greatly coveted, and the distribution of patronage closely watched, had been denuded of Musalmans. These articles were immediately translated into Persian and copied into or discussed by many of the Anglo-Indian and vernacular papers. A Commission was issued by the Bengal Government to inquire into the higher class education of the Muhammadans in Calcutta; but the net result has been, that the Musalman element in the public services has gone on growing weaker every year, just as before.

This statement the following statistics will prove. In the highest grade in which the appointments dated from a previous generation, the Muhammadans had not much to complain of, as in April 1869 there was one Musalman to two Hindus; there is now but one Musalman to three Hindus. In the second grade there were then two Muhammadans to nine Hindus; there is now one Musalman to ten Hindus. In the third grade there were then four Musalmans to a total of twenty-seven Hindus and Englishmen; there are now three Musalmans to a total of twenty-four Hindus and Englishmen. Passing down to the lower ranks, there were in 1869 four Musalmans among a total of thirty of all creeds; there are now four among a total of thirty nine. Among the probationers from whom the service is recruited, there were only two Musalmans in a total of twenty-eight; there is now not a single Muhammadan in this rank.

It is, however, in the less conspicuous Departments, in which the distribution of patronage is less keenly watched by the political parties in Bengal, that we may read the fate of the Musalmans. In 1869 these Departments were filled thus : —In the three grades of Assistant Government Engineers there were fourteen Hindus and not one Musalman; among the apprentices there were four Hindus and two Englishmen, and not one Musalman. Among the sub-Engineers and Supervisors of the Public Works Department there were twenty-four

Hindus to one Musalman; among the Overseers, two Musalmans to sixty-three Hindus. In the Office of Account there were fifty names of Hindus, and not one Musalman, and in the Upper Subordinate Department there were twenty-two Hindus, and again not one Musalman.

But it is unnecessary to multiply instances of a fact that is patent in every page of the Civil List. I have made up a table of the gazetted appointments for which Englishmen, Muhammadans and Hindus are alike eligible :—

Distribution of State Patronage in Bengal, April 1871

	Europeans	*Hindus*	*Musalmans*	*Total*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Covenanted Civil Service (appointed in England by the Crown)	260	0	0	260
Judicial Officers in the Non-Regulation Districts.[25]	47	0	0	47
Extra Assistant Commissioners	26	7	0	33
Deputy-Magistrates & Deputy-Collectors	53	113	30	106
Income-Tax Assessors	11	43	6	60
Registration Department	33	25	2	60
Judges of Small Cause Court and Sub-ordinate Judges	14	25	8	47
Munsifs	1	178	37	216
Police Department, Gazetted Officers of all grades	106	3	0	109

(*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5
Public Works Dept. Engineer Establishment	154	19	0	173
Public Works Dept. Subordinate Establishment	72	125	4	201
Public Works Dept. Account Establishment	22	54	0	76
Medical Dept. Officers attached to Medical College, Jails, Charitable Dispensaries, Sanitation and Vaccination Establishments and Medical Officers in charge of Districts, etc., etc.	89	65	4	158
Department of Public Instruction	38	14	1	53
Other Departments, such as Customs, Marine, Survey, Opium[26], etc.	412	10	0	422
Total	1,338	681	92	2,111

A hundred year ago, the Musalmans monopolized all the important offices of State. The Hindus accepted with thanks such crumbs as their former conquerors dropped from their table, and the English were represented by a few factors and clerks. The proportion of Muhammadans to Hindus, as shown above, is now less than one-seventh. The proportion of Hindus to Europeans is more than one-half; the proportion of Musalmans to Europeans is less than one-fourteenth. The proportion of the race which a century ago had the monopoly of Government, has now fallen to less than one-twenty-third of the whole administrative body. This, too, in the gazetted appointments, where the distribution of patronage is closely watched. In the less conspicuous office establishments in the Presidency Town, the exclusion of Musalmans is even more complete. In one extensive Department the other day it was discoverd that

there was not a single *employee* who could read the Musalman dialect, and, in fact, there is now scarcely a Government office in Calcutta in which a Muhammadan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of ink-post and menders of pens.

Is it that the Hindus have all along been better men than the Musalmans, and only required a fair field in order to outstip them in the race? Or is it that the Musalmans have so many careers open to them in non-official life that they are indifferent to Government employment, and leave the Hindus to walk over the course? The Hindu has unquestionally a high order of intellect; but an universal and immeasurable superiority on the part of the Hindus, such as would be required to explain their monopoly of official preferment, is unknown at the present day, and is in direct contradiction to their past history. The truth is, that when the country passed under our rule, the Musalmans were the superior race, and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organization, and in the science of practical government. Yet the Muhammadans are now shut out equally from Government employ and from the higher occupations of non-official life.

The only peculiar profession open to well-born Muhammadans is the law. Medicine falls under a different category, as I shall afterwards show. Now the Law is even more strictly closed to the Muhammadans than the official services. Among the Judges of Her Majesty's High Court of Judicature in Bengal are two Hindus[27] but no Musalman. Indeed, the idea of a High Court Judge being taken from the race that once monopolized the whole administration of justice, is inconceivable alike to Anglo-Indians and to Hindus at the present day. In 1869, when I last made up the statistics of the Indian Professions, they stood thus:— The Law Officers of the Crown were six in number—four Englishmen, two Hindus, and no Musalman. Among the Officers of the High Court of sufficient rank to have their names published, twenty-one in number, there were seven

Hindu gentlemen, and not one Musalman. Among the Barristers-at-Law were three Hindus (now greatly increased, I believe), and not one Musalman.

But the list of Pleaders of the High Court, a sort of subordinate Barristers, tells the most cruel story of all. This was a branch of the Profession almost completely in the hands of the Musalmans within the memory of men still living. The present list dates from 1834, and the surviving pleaders of that year consisted in 1869 of one Englishmen, one Hindu, and two Musalman. Up to 1838 the Musalmans were almost as numerous as the Hindus and English put together, the proportion being six of the former to seven of both the latter. Of the pleaders admitted between 1845 and 1850 inclusive, the whole survivors in 1869 were Musalmans. Even as late as 1851 the Muhammadans stoutly held their own, and in fact equal the whole number of the English and Hindu pleaders put together. From 1851 the scene changes. A new order of men began to come to the front. Different tests of fitness were exacted, and the list shows that out of two hundred and forty natives admitted from 1852 to 1868, two hundred and thirty-nine were Hindus, and only one a Musalman.

Passing to the next grade in the Profession, the Attorneys, Proctors, and Solicitors of the High Court,[28] there were in 1869 twenty-seven Hindus and not one Musalman; while among the rising generation of articled clerks there were twenty-six Hindus, and again not one Musalman. It matters not to what department of the Profession I turn, the result is the same. In the Office of the Registrar of the High Court there were in 1869 seventeen *employees* of sufficient standing to have their names published. Six of them were Englishmen or East Indians, eleven were Hindus, and not one was a Musalman. In the Receiver's office four names were given, two Englishmen and two Hindus, but no Musalman. In all the nooks and crannies of the law, in the Offices of Account, the Sheriff's Office, Coroner's office and Office of Interpreters, twenty names were given—

eight Englishmen, eleven Hindus, and one Musalman, the sole representative of the Muhammadan population on the list, and he is a miserable *maula*[29] on six shillings a week.

The Profession of Medicine remains. But unhappily, Medicine, practised by the native doctors, scarcely ranks as a Profession among the upper classes of Muhammadans. A Musalman gentleman has two medical attendants. The one is a physician, who, under the name of *Tabib*, or, as he is generally designated by English writers, *Hakim*, receives honourable entertainment from his employers. The other is the *Jarrah*, which in simple English means barber. It is he who performs all surgical operations, from shaving to amputation; and so rigid is the line between Medicine and Surgery, that a *Tabib* of good standing would refuse to bind up a wound. This line, however, the surgeon-barber by no means scruples to transgress. Practically, almost the whole science of Medicine falls within his jurisdiction, and the Muhammadan Physicians proper are now a small and decaying class. In the great towns of Upper India they may still be found, but in the Bengal Districts they are never met with. The practice of Medicine has now fallen into the hands of the illiterate Musalman barbers and of the Hindu doctors.[30]

Indeed, the traditional Muhammadan physician, even where he still survives in Northern India, is a scholar and recluse rather than an active practitioner. He derives his art from Persian and Arabic manuscripts, and confounds our English science of Medicine with the despised occupation of the surgeon-barber. It thus happens that in Bengal, where the State affords admirable facilities for the study of Medicine, the son of a good Musalman family scarcely ever enters the Profession. Crowds of ill-bred Muhammadan boys from the lower and even the menial walks of life, jostle for just that amount of gratuitous instruction which will qualify them for a regimental apothecaryship. They are, in short, the barber-surgeons of a former time, despised by the upper classes of the Musalman community, absolutely unrecognised by the few surviving Muhammadan physicians, thankless for the benefits which they receive, and insolent to their instructors except under the

weight of an almost military discipline. It has been my good fortune to be intimately acquainted with many Hindu doctors whose bearing and whose learning entitle them to the respect due to their noble calling. But I have never met a single Musalman doctor of this class. Such men may exist in Northern India, but in Bengal the Muhammadans do not seem to aspire to any of the recognised grades of the Medical Profession. In 1869 the statistics stood thus :—Among the Graduates of Medicine in the Calcutta University there were four doctors; three Hindus, one Englishman, and no Muhammadan. Among eleven Bachelors of Medicine, ten were Hindus and one an Englishman. The hundred and four Licentiates of Medicine consisted of five Englishmen, ninety eight Hindus, and one solitary Muhammadan. Recently the Government conferred two titles of *Bahadur* upon members of the native medical profession immediately connected with the Calcutta University. Political considerations rendered it expedient that one of the titles should be given to a Hindu, the other to a Musalman; and it is well-known how highly the Muhammadans value such a distinction. Yet I hear that, notwithstanding the excellent personal qualities of the Musalman gentleman selected, the title has failed to give him that social status among the higher classes of his country-men which it generally confers. The truth is, that Muhammadans do not consider Medicine as taught in our schools the profession of a gentleman; and social prejudice closes this vocation to sons of good Muhammadan families, as completely as the other professions, and the Government Services are shut to them by the overpowering rush of highly educated Hindus.

I have seldom read anything more piteous than the private letters and newspaper articles of Bengal Musalmans. The Calcutta Persian paper[31] some time ago wrote thus :—'All sorts of employment, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Muhammadans, and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus. The Government is bound to look upon all classes of its subjects with an equal eye, yet the time has now come when it publicly singles out the Muhammadans in its Gazettes for exclusion from official post.

Recently, when several vacancies occurred in the office of the Sundarbans Commissioner, that official, in advertising them in the Government Gazette, stated that the appointments would be given to none but Hindus.[82] In short, the Muhammadans have now sunk so low, that, even when qualified for Government employ, they are studiously kept out of it by Government notifications. Nobody takes any notice of their helpless condition, and the higher authorities do not deign even to acknowledge their existence.

The following sentences are from a petition lately presented by the Orissa Muhammadans to the Commissioner[83]. Their stilted phraseology may perhaps raise a smile; but the permanent impression produced by the spectacle of the ancient conquerors of the Province begging in broken English for bare bread, is, I think, one of sorrowful silence : 'As loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, we have, we believe, an equal claim to all appointments in the administration of the country. Truly speaking, the Orissa Muhammadans have been levelled down and down, with no hopes of rising again. Born of noble parentage, poor by profession, and destitute of patrons, we find ourselves in the position of a fish out of water. Such is the wretched state of the Muhammadans, which we bring unto your Honour's notice, believing your Honour to be the sole representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen for the Orissa Division, and hoping that justice will be administered to all classes, without distinction of colour or creed. The penniless and parsimonious condition which we are reduced to, consequent on the failure of our former Government service, has thrown us into such an everlasting despondency, that we speak from the very core of our hearts, that we would travel into the remotest corners of the earth, ascend the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, wander the forlorn regions of Siberia, could we be convinced that by so travelling we would be blessed with a Government appointment of ten shillings a week'.

How comes it that the Muhammadan population is thus shut out alike from official employ and from the recognised

professions ? The Musalmans of Bengal do not want intelligence, and the spur of poverty constantly goads them to do something to better their condition. The Government has covered Bengal with schools, and many of its Districts are peopled with Muhammadans; yet the Government schools fail to develop a class of Musalmans who can compete successfuly at the University, or find an entrance into any of the professions. The same schools send forth every year a vast body of well-read, ambitious and intellectual Hindu youths, who distinguish themselves as young men at the University, and in after life monopolise every avenue to wealth or distinction.

The truth is, that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion, of the Musalmans. Under Muhammadan Rule the Hindus accepted their fate exactly as they have done under our own. At present preferment depends upon a knowledge of English, and they learn English. Formerly, perferment depended upon a knowledge of Persian, and they learned Persian. As far back as 1500 A.D. they had begun to compose works in that language. The verses of one of these early Hindu authors survive; and although an Infidel, he obtained a public position as a teacher of the Muhammadan youth, and a lecturer on their sciences. Under Akbar, the Hindus met the enlightened monarch half way, and produced an eminent Persian poet. But it was not till a knowledge of Persian had become profitable to the Hindus that it became general among them. At the end of the sixteenth century the Chancellor of the Empire, himself a Hindu, commanded that the public accounts should thenceforward be written in Persian, and the Hindu subordinate Revenue Service forthwith learned Persian to a man. When, therefore, we introduced English into the public offices, the facile Hindu immediately mastered the language necessary to his success in life. The former language of public business under the Muhammadans, and the new one under ourselves, were alike foreign tongues to him. He was equally indifferent to both, except as a means of

preferment; indeed, as our Government schools gave him this important talisman of success at less than half the cost price to the State, he greatly preferred our system to the one which had preceded it.

With the Musalmans the case was altogether different. Before the country passed to us, they were not only the political but the intellectual power in India. 'They possessed a system of education which,' to use the words of the Indian statesman who knows them best, 'however inferior to that which we have established, was yet by no means to be despised; was capable of affording a high degree of intellectual training and polish; was founded on principles not wholly unsound, though presented in an antiquated form; and which was infinitely superior to any other system of education then existing in India : a system which secured to them an intellectual as well as a material supremacy, and through the medium of which alone the Hindus could hope to fit themselves for the smallest share of authority in their native country'.[34] During the first seventy-five years of our Rule we continued to make use of this system as a means for producing officers to carry out our administration. But meanwhile we had introduced a scheme of Public Instruction of our own; and as soon as it trained up a generation of men on the new plan, we flung aside the old Muhammadan system, and the Musalman youth found every avenue of public life closed in their faces.

Had the Musalmans been wise, they would have perceived the change, and accepted their fate. But an ancient conquering race cannot easily divest itself of the traditions of its nobler days. The Bengal Muhammadans refused a system which gave them no advantages over the people whom they had so long ruled, a people whom they hated as idolaters and despised as a servile race. Religion came to the support of the popular feeling against the innovation, and for long it remained doubtful whether a Musalman boy could attend our State Schools without perdition to his soul. Had we introduced our system by means of English masters, or boldly changed the language of public business to our tongue, their religious difficulty would in one

important respect have been less. For the Muhammadans admit that the Christian Faith, however short of the full truth as finally revealed by their Prophet, is nevertheless one of the inspired religions which have been vouchsafed to mankind. But Hinduism is to them the mystery of abominations, a system of devil-worship and idolatry unbroken by a single gleam of the knowledge of the One God.[85] The language of our Government Schools in Lower Bengal is Hindi, and the masters are Hindus. The Musalmans with one consent spurned the instructions of idolaters through the medium of the language of idolatry.

By degrees this detestation yielded to the altered necessities of the age. Religion, which had at the beginning shed its sanction upon the popular dislike to our Schools, began to waver. Decisions by the most learned Law Doctor of the age, the Sun of India, who has already appeared more than once in this book, were wrested into an approval of an English education. This celebrated Professor had already decided as to employment under the English. Some official occupations, he had said, are desirable, others indifferent, and others sinful. Thus, if the English engage Musalmans for praiseworthy posts, such as Law Officers according to the Muhammadan Code, overseers on roads or resting houses for poor travellers, as protectors of property or suppressors of thieves, it is well. For thus 'the Prophet Joseph was employed as Treasurer and Inspector General of Police to the Infidel King of Egypt, and likewise Her Highness Musi served Pharaoh for the purpose of suckling Moses'. But if the service tends to make a person irreligious, then the Musalman who accepts it commits sin.

In the same way, when his disciples asked him whether it was lawful to learn logic or English, he replied : 'Logic is not necessary for salvation, but it is a help like grammar in learning the necessary knowledge. If any man learns it in order to cast doubts on religion, he is a sinner. But if he learns it for learning's sake, he is guiltless. Learning English for the purpose of reading books, writing letters, and knowing the secret meanings of words, is permitted; because Zaid Iban Sabit learned the language and dictionaries of the Jews and

Christians by the Prophet's order, that he might be able to answer the letters which the Jews and Christians sent to the Prophet. But if any man learns English for pleasure, or in order to unite himself with the English, he sins and trangresses the Law : even as in the case of a weapon of iron, if the weapon of iron, is made for driving away thieves or for arresting them, then the making of it is a pious act; but if it is made to help or defend the thieves, then the making of it is sinful'.

The more zealous Muhammadans, however, have never quite accepted the lawfulness of an education in our State Schools. While the worldly-minded among them made advances towards our system, the fanatical section shrunk still further back from it. During the last forty years they have separated themselves from the Hindus by differences of dress, of salutations, and other exterior distinctions, such as they never deemed necessary in the days of their supremacy. Even as late as 1860-62 there was only one Musalman to ten Hindus in our schools, and although the proportion has increased since then, the increase is due to the additional Aided Institutions, and not to the District Government Schools. The attendance at the English Schools has not increased; and the officer in charge of the Wahabi prosecutions, on whose authority I make these statements, and who is intimately acquainted with Eastern Bengal, declares that the number of Muhammadan students bears no fair ratio to the Muhammadan population.

The truth is, that our system of Public Instruction ignores the three most powerful instincts of the Musalman heart. In the first place, it conducts education in the vernacular of Bengal, a language which the educated Muhammadans despise, and by means of Hindu teachers, whom the whole Muhammadan Community hates. The Bengali schoolmaster talks his own dialect and vile Urdu, the letter of which is to him an acquired language almost as much as is to ourselves. Moreover, his gently and timid character unfits him to maintain order among Musalman boys. 'Nothing on earth' said a Muhammadan husbandman recently to an English official, 'would induce me to send my boy to a Bengali teacher'. In the second

place, our rural schools seldom enable a Muhammadan to learn the tongues necessary for his holding respectable position in life, and for the performance of his religious duties. Every Muhammadan gentleman must have some knowledge of Persian, and Persian is a language unknown even in our higher class District schools, Every Musalman, from the peasant to the prince, ought to say his prayers in one of the sacred languages, Persian,[96] or Arabic, and this our schools have never recognised. It was lately asserted on high authority, that the prayers of the Musalmans find no acceptance with God unless they are offered in the prescribed tongues. In the third place, our system of Public Instruction makes no provision for the religious education of the Muhammadan youth. It overlooks the fact that among the Hindus a large and powerful caste has come down from time immemorial for supplying this part of a boy's training, while among the Muhammadans no separate body of clergy exists. Every head of a Musalman household is supposed to know the duties of his religion, and to be his own family priest. Public ministrations are indeed conducted at the mosques; but it is the glory of Islam that its temples are not made with hands, and that its ceremonies can be performed anywhere upon God's earth or under His heavens. A system of purely secular education is adapted to very few nations. In the opinion of many deeply thinking men, it has signally failed in Ireland, and it is certainly altogether unsuited to the illiterate and fanatical peasantry of Muhammadan Bengal.

'Is it therefore', to repeat the words of the Indian statesman who has studied the subject most deeply, 'any wonder that the Musalmans have held aloof from a system which made no concession to their prejudices; made no provision for what they esteemed their necessities; which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests, and at variance with all their social traditions ?'

Yet many English Officers have gone through their service with a chronic indignation against the Muhammadans for refusing to accept the education which we have tried to bring to every man's door. The facility with which the rest of the

population acquiesced in it made this refusal more odious by contrast. The pliant Hindu knew no scruples, and we could not understand why the Muhammadan should be troubled with them. But the truth is, that we overlooked a distinction as old as the religious instinct itself,—the distinction which in all ages and among all nations has separated polytheism from the worship of One God. Polytheism, by multiplying the objects of its followers' adoration, divides its claims on their belief. What Gibbon finely said of the Greeks, applies at this moment with more than its original force to the Hindus : 'Instead of an indivisible and regular system which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousand loose and flexible parts, and the servant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith.[37] The Muhammadans have no such licence. Their creed demands an absolute, a living, and even an intolerant belief; nor will any system of Public Instruction, which leaves the religious principle out of sight, ever satisfy the devout follower of Islam.

How far it may be possible to do justice to the Musalman population in this respect, without sacrificing our position as a Christian Government, I shall afterwards inquire. Meanwhile the Muhammadans have just ground for complaining that the funds which we levy impartially from all classes for State Education, are in Bengal expended on a system exclusively adapted to the Hindus.

But unfortunately this is not their most serious charge against us. While we have created a system of Public Instruction unsuited to their wants, we have also denuded their own system of the funds by which it was formerly supported. Every great Musalman House in Bengal maintained a scholastic establishment in which its sons and its poorer neighbours received an education free of expense. As the Muhammadan families of the Province declined, such private institutions dwindled in numbers and in efficiency. It was not, however, till the second half century of our Rule that we arrayed against them the restless force of British Law. From time immemorial

the Native Princes of India had been accustomed to set apart grants of land for the education of the youth and for the service of the gods. The ruling power for the time being always possessed unquestioned and unlimited powers in this respect. Under the careless sway of the Mughuls, and during the anarchy amid which their Empire closed, the power had been to some extent transferred to, and to a still greater extent usurped by, the Provincial Governors and their subordinates. The distant Delhi Court troubled itself little about what was going on in Lower Bengal, so long as the total tribute of the Province was discharged. The indolent and luxurious Governor at Dacca or Murshidabad was equally indifferent to the details of the District Administration. Every great Farmer of the Revenue could do pretty much as he liked with the lands under his care, so long as he paid up the stipulated Land-Tax. According to the form of his religion, he gave rent-free tenures to the temples or to the mosques, and, a long life of cruelty and extortion might always be condoned by liberal death-bed devises *in pios usus*.

When we took over charge of Bengal, the ablest Revenue Officer of the time[88] estimated that one fourth of the whole Province had been transferred from the State. In 1772 Warren Hastings discerned the gigantic fraud, but the feeling against resuming such tenures was then too strong to allow of any active steps being taken. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis again asserted in the strongest and broadest manner the inalienable right of Government to all-rent free grants which had not obtained the sanction of the Ruling Power. But even the stronger Government of that day did not venture to carry out this principle. The subject rested for another quarter of a century, until 1819, when the Government again asserted its rights, but again shrank from enforcing them. It was not until 1828 that the Legislature and the Executive combined to make one great effort. Special Courts were created, and during the next eighteen years the whole Province was overrun with informers, false witnesses, and stern pale-faced Resumption Officers.

At an outlay of £800,000 upon Resumption Proceedings, an additional revenue of £300,000 a year was permanently gained by the State, representing a capital at five per cent, of six millions sterling.[39] A large part of this sum was derived from lands held rent free by Musalmans or by Muhammadan foundations. The panic and hatred which ensued have stamped themselves for ever on the rural records. Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Musalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death-blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the eighteen years[40] of harrying, absolutely ruined. Any impartial student will arrive at the conviction, that while the Resumption Laws only enforced rights which we had again and again most emphatically reserved, yet that the Resumption Proceedings were harsh in the extreme, and opposed to the general sense of the Indian people. Prescription cannot create rights in the face of express enactments, but seventy-five years of unbroken possession give rise to strong claims on the tenderness of a Government. Our Resumption Officers knew no pity. They calmly enforced the law. The panic of those days is still remembered, and it has left to us a bitter legacy of hatred. Since then the profession of a Man of Learning, a dignified and lucrative calling under Native Rulers, has ceased to exist in Bengal.

The Muhammadan foundations suffered most; for with regard to their title deeds, as with regard to all other matters, the former conquerors of India had displayed a haughty indifference unknown to the provident and astute Hindu. We demanded an amount of proof in support of rent-free tenures, which, in the then uncertain state of real property law, they could not have produced in support of their acknowledged private estates. During seventy-five years we had submitted under protest to a gigantic system of fraud, and the accumulated penalty fell upon a single generation. Meanwhile the climate and the white-ants had been making havoc of the grants and title deeds which might have supported their claims. There can be little doubt that our Resumptions fell short of what had been stolen from us; but there can be no doubt

whatever, that from those Resumptions the decay of the Muhammadan system of education dates. The Officer now in charge of the Wahabi prosecutions cites them as the second cause of the decline of the Musalman community in Bengal.

The justice of these proceedings may, however, be defended; the absolute misappropriation of scholastic funds, with which the Musalmans charge us, cannot. For it is no use concealing the fact that the Muhammadans believe that, if we had only honestly applied the property entrusted to us for that purpose, they would at this moment possess one of the noblest and most efficient educational establishments in Bengal. In 1806 a wealthy Muhammadan gentleman of Hugli District died, leaving a vast estate *in pios usus*. Presently his two trustees began to quarrel. In 1810 the dispute deepened into a charge of malversation, and the English Collector of the District attached the property, pending the decision of the Courts. Litigation continued till 1816, when the Government dismissed both the trustees, and assumed the management of the estate, appointing itself in the place of one trustee, and nominating a second one. Next year it let out the estate in perpetuity, taking a suitable payments, from each of the permanent lease-holders. These payments, with the arrears which had accumulated during the litigation, now amount to £105,700,[41] besides over £12,000 which has since been saved from the annual proceeds of the estate.

The Trust had, as I have said, been left for pious uses. These uses had been defined by the will, such as the maintenance of certain religious rites and ceremonies, the repair of the *Imambarah* or great mosque at Hughli, a burial ground, certain pensions, and various religious establishments. An educational foundation came strictly within the purposes of the Trust, but an educational establishment on the Muhammadan plan, such as the founder would have himself approved. A College for poor scholars has always been considered 'a pious use' in Musalman countries. But any attempt to divert the funds to a non-Muhammadan College would have been deemed an act of impiety by the tustator, and could only be regarded

as a gross malversation on the part of the trustees. Indeed, so inseparable is the religious element from a Muhammadan endowment, that the Government had to carefully investigate the legality of applying a Trust, made by a gentleman of the Shia sect, to the education of the Sunni Musalmans.

We may imagine, then, the burst of indignation with which the Muhammadans learned that the English Government was about to misappropriate the funds to the erection of an English College. This, however, it did. It devoted an estate left expressly for the pious uses of Islam, to founding an institution subversive in its very nature of the principles of Islam, and from which the Muhammadans were practically excluded. At this moment the head of the College is an English gentleman ignorant of a single word of Persian or Arabic, who draws £1500 a year from a strictly Muhammadan endowment for teaching things hateful to every Musalman. It is not, of course, his fault, but the fault of the Government which placed him there, and which for thirty-five years has been deliberately misappropriating this great educational fund. In vain it attempted to cloak so gross a breach of trust by attaching a small Muhammadan school to the English College. Besides the misappropriation of the accumulated fund in building the College, it annually diverted £5,000 to its maintenance. That is to say, out of an income of £, 5260, it devoted only £350 to the little Muhammadan school which alone remained to bear witness to the original character of the Trust.

It is painful to dwell on this charge of misappropriation, because it is impossible to rebut it. The Muhammadans declare that the English took advantage of irregularities on the part of the first Musalman trustees, to place an Infidel Government in charge of their largest religious endowment; and that they have since aggravated this initial wrong by substituting for the 'pious objects' of the Musalman testator, an Institution which is of no service to the Muhammadans whatever. Some years ago it is stated that, out of three hundred boys in the English College, not one per cent were Musalmans; and although this disgraceful disproportion has since been lessened,

the sense of injustice still remains among the Muhammadan community. 'I believe it is difficult' writes a civilian who has studied the matter deeply, 'to over-estimate the odium, not to say the contempt, which the British Government has incurred by its action in this case. This language may perhaps be deemed strong, but I can testify to the fact that during twenty-eight years' residence in India I have repeatedly broached the subject (I visited Hughli within a few weeks after my first arrival), and I can affirm that I never heard from native or European any other account. Rightly or not, the Muhammadans *do* think that the Government has behaved unjustly, and even meanly, towards them in this matter, and it is a standing sore and grievance with them.'

Even this, however, does not complete the wrongs with which the Musalmans charge their English Rulers. They arraign us not only upon depriving them of any chance of success in this life, but also upon attempts to imperil their salvation in the next. All religions of the noble type have set apart certain days for the performance of their spiritual duties. We can picture the sorrow and indignation with which the English would regard the arbitrary fiat of a foreign conqueror, declaring that Sundays should no longer be days of rest. The Muhammadans venerate with emotions of equal tenderness their own solemn festivals. In most parts of India we have respected this feeling. But in Lower Bengal the Muhammadans have of late so completely sunk out of sight, that their religious requirements were gradually overlooked, then neglected, and finally denied. Last year the Muhammadan Pleaders of the High Court presented two memorials on this subject. They pointed out that, while the number of closed days allowed to the Christians were sixty-two in number and those to the Hindus, fifty-two, only eleven were granted to the Muhammadans. Formerly the sanctioned Musalman holidays amounted to twenty-one; and all that the petitioners ventured to beg was, that they should not be further decreased below the minimum of eleven which they had already reached. These memorials were called forth by an order that the native holidays observed by the High Court should hereafter be the same

as those allowed in other Government offices. Now, 'in other Government Offices' no Muhammadan holidays are sanctioned at all. The head of each establishment may allow any Muhammadans whom he may have under him to absent themselves during their six great festivals, making a total of days per annum but the office remains open, and the general work goes on as usual.

The Muhammadan pleaders pointed out that a permissive system of this sort would by no means meet the requirements of a public Court of Justice. Such tribunals have to consider not only their officers and practitioners, but also the public for whose convenience they exist. They urged that, although the number of Muhammadan Pleaders has greatly diminished, yet that the number of Muhammadan suiters who come to look after their cases has, in consequence of railway communication, more than proportionately increased. That even if the Muhammadan Pleaders might be excused from attendance on a Muhammadan holiday; yet that they could not divert their minds from suits which might still be carried on if a Hindu or an English Pleader happened to be also engaged in them. In short, that the order amounted to a total abolition of their religious festivals—an abolition opposed to the practice of the seventy-two years during which the Court had sat, and prohibitive of the duties enjoined by their faith. 'If holidays are to be allowed to Hindus and Christians according to their religion, your Memorialists submit that the Muhammadans should not be deprived of the holidays set apart for the performance of their religious duties and ceremonies.'[18] The hardship is aggravated by the fact that with the exception of two festivals (the '*Id-ul-fitr* occupying three days, and the '*Id-uz-zuha* occupying one), all the Musalman holidays are the seasons of humiliation and mourning, during which every religious man should shut out the affairs of the world and take account with his soul.

To so low an state has the community which formerly monopolized the whole legal appointments throughout India fallen. It is gratifying to know that at least this piece of

injustice was not allowed to take effect. The Supreme Government interfered and authoritatively set apart a certain limited number of Muhammadan holidays; not, indeed, so many as the Musalmans desired, but as many as the exigencies of public business would permit, and sufficient for the observance of the great festivals of their faith.

One charge yet remains. The Muhammadans complain that not only has our system extruded them from the legal profession but that by an Act of the Legislature we have deprived them of the one essential functionary for the fulfilment of their domestic and religious law. Under a Muhammadan Government, the Kazi unites many of the functions of a criminal, a civil, and an ecclesiastical judge. It was to him that we chiefly trusted to carry on the administration of justice when we first took charge of the country. Our earliest code recognised his importance and confirmed his office, and a long list of twenty-five Regulations touching his duties may still be found in our Indian Statute Books.[43] Indeed, so indispensable is the Kazi to the Muhammadan domestic and religious code, that the Law Doctors decided that India would continue a Country of Islam so long as the Kazis were maintained, and become a country of the Enemy the moment they were abolished.

Unfortunately, the intimate acquaintance with Muhammadan popular feeling, which Muhammadan disaffection has now forced us to acquire, is of a very recent date. In 1863, one of the Provincial Governors called in question the propriety of continuing to appoint Kazis. He appears to have thought that such appointments involved a recognition of their sacerdotal character by the Government, and to have believed that the Muhammadan community might be safely allowed to make the appointments themselves. Accordingly, after some discussion, and a strong protest from Bombay, the whole previous legislation on the subject was repealed, and Government formally discontinued its appointment of Kazis.[44]

During the past seven years a great and constantly increasing section of the Muhammadan community have been

men of letters,[17] who, without other means of livelihood, and embittered against the existing state of things, go about preaching among the ignorant Muhammadan population, apostles of disloyalty. But it also acts in a far more serious way. There can be no doubt that a Muhammadan's life can hardly be conducted in conformity to the rules of his religion where no proper Kazi exists. Not only do certain ceremonies require their sanction, but there are perpetually small questions of religious and formal law cropping up in the every-day life of a Muhammadan, which should properly be resolved by a Kazi. If no such officer exists, it gives a broad opening to a man who is disloyal to Government to press on a conscientious Muhammadan that the Government is not one he can properly live under. On the other hand, the use and recognition of a Kazi appointed by Government is virtually a recognition of the authority and lawfulness of that Government.

The question is one of the most important that ever came before the Indian Legislature. Under an acknowledged military occupation, as in Algiers, it may be doubtful how far the Kazis require recognition by the ruling power. But all the evidence tends to show that such recognition or appointment is necessary under a settled civil government like that of British India. The point is an intricate one but meanwhile the decision of the Madras High Court remains in force and leaves the office of Kazi shorn of dignity and legal authority. Deep consideration of the whole bearings of the case, and consultation with the ten Provincial Governments into which India is divided, will, no doubt, be required before a decision can be safely arrived at. But the earnest attitude which the Viceroy has taken up, and the firm resolve of Government to do justice to the Muhammadans, at whatever cost of admitting its former mistakes, give good ground for belief that this too will presently be removed from the list of Musalman charges against British Rule.

The neglect and contempt with which, for half a century the Muhhammadan population of Lower Bengal has thus been. treated, have left their marks deep in recent Indian literature

The former conquerors of the East are excluded from our Oriental journals and libraries as well as from the more active careers in life. The old Court of Directors wisely shared its favours between Musalmans and Hindus, and the admirable Arabic and Persian scholarship displayed in the earlier series of the Bibliotheca Indica was merely the literary representative of this political impartiality. But during the last fifty years the Hindus have extruded the Muhammadans alike from State literature and State employ, and the £600 a year which the Court of Directors granted to the Bibliotheca Indica has been allotted in almost as one-sided a way as Bengal official patronage. Between 1847 and 1852, under Dr. Roer's rule, few efforts of Semitic scholarship appeared; and although, during the brief incumbency of Dr. Sprenger, a reaction set in, and two works of the first magnitude were begun, they have been left unfinished.

Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson's enthusiastic Sanskrit Scholarship could ill brook the expenditure of an Indian grant upon Arabic literature. Under his inspiration, the Court of Directors issued an injunction that the Bibliotheca Indica should be devoted entirely to Indian subjects, upon pain of withdrawal of the £600 a year. Perhaps it was well that a man with so much force of character, and with such paramount claims to be heard on his own subject should have been temporarily allowed to have his way. Dr. H.H. Wilson built the basement of modern Sanskrit learning : the masonary which Max Muller is now overlaying with his exquisite ornamentation, and upon which he is rearing upper storeys of a light and graceful architecture hitherto unattempted in scholarship. Meanwhile Goldstucker, Aufrecht, Fiz-Edward Hall, and Muir are strengthening the foundation, throwing out buttresses, and adding substantial wings, so that the beautiful structure shall abide for ever.

But a little band of Semitic scholars were still holding together, and defending their position to the last. The Court of Directors had withdrawn its support from any undertaking extraneous to India proper. The Semitic scholars did not feel

strong enough to fight on this ground, and accordingly abandoned the Arabic outworks; only to entrench themselves, however, behind the Persian literature of the Muhammadan Empire. Sir Henry Elliot went on with his labours unmoved. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Hammond, Sir William Muir, and a few others, formed a brilliant group of Civilians' who wrung from the Local Government what the distant Court of Directors had refused. In 1855 the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces sanctioned the collection of Persian MSS. at the public expense. Sixty-seven were landed at a single haul. The publication of Sir Henry Elliot's papers, under the admirable although somewhat leisurely editorship of Mr. Thoms, Professor Dawson, and Mr. Beames marks a vast stride. Meanwhile the Lucknow Muhammadan Presses have been annually pouring forth their varied, if not very careful or well considered, productions. Colonel Nassau Lees has devoted all his influence and learning to the cause; and in Dr. Rost, the new Librarian at the India Office, Orientalists have obtained one of those rare scholars who combine a broad range of subjects and interests with depth and absolute trustworthiness. In India the reaction is equally well marked, and a scholar has arisen in the person of Mr. Blochmann, whose industry, talent and enthusiasm recall the early days of Oriental learning.

I have now set forth the Muhammadan Petition and Complaint against British Rule. The charges of misappropriation and specific wrongs may be safely left to Government to deal with,—a Government which has during the last two years shown its earnestness equally in putting down disaffection and in trying to remove the causes of it. But on the more general and less tangible accusation of neglect I must say a few words. If we analyse this charge, we shall find that our unsympathetic system of Public Instruction lies at the root of the matter. The Bengal Musalmans can never hope to succeed in life, or to obtain a fair share of the State patronage, until they fit themselves for it, and they will never thus fit themselves until provision is made for their education in our schools. The changes required are, in my opinion, very simple and inexpensive. But before entering on them, I propose to relate the one

great effort we have made in this direction. The English in India have failed in their duty towards the Musalmans; but it is only fair to narrate the difficulties and discouragements which they have met with in endeavouring to do it.

During exactly ninety years, a costly Muhammadan College has been maintained in Calcutta at the State expense.[48] It owes its origin, like most other of the English attempts to benefit the people, to Warren Hastings. In 1781 the Governor General discerned the change which must inevitably come over the prospects of the Musalmans, and tried to prepare them for it. As the wealth of the great Muhammadan Houses decayed, their power of giving their sons an education which should fit them for the higher offices in the State declined *pari passu.* To restore the chances in their favour, Warren Hastings established a Muhammadan College in the Capital, and 'endowed it with certain rents towards its perpetual maintenance'. Unfortunately for the Musalmans, he left its management to the Musalmans themselves. Persian and Arabic remained the sole subjects of instruction, long after Persian and Arabic had ceased to be the bread-winners in official life. Abuse of a very grave character crept into the College and in 1819 it was found necessary to appoint an European Secretary. In 1826 a further effort was made to adapt the Institution to the altered necessities of the times; an English class was formed. but unhappily soon afterwards broken up. Three years afterwards, another and more permanent effort was made, but with inadequate results. During the next quarter of a century, the Muhammadan College shared the fate of the Muhammadan community. It was allowed to drop out of sight; and when the local Government made any sign on the subject, it was some expression of impatience at its continuing to exist at all. Between 1851 and 1853, however, the authorities awoke to the necessity of doing something towards reforming an institution which had become a public scandal. The result of the proposals then put forward[49] amounted to this. The College was divided into two Departments, the lower of which, under the name of the Anglo-Persian Branch, taught Urdu, Persian, and English up to a very moderate standard.[50] The upper Depart-

ment was devoted entirely to Arabic. The defects of this plan soon became apparent. When the youths passed into the purely Arabic Branch, they forgot what they had learned in the more miscellaneous lower Department. In 1858 the effects of the system are thus described : 'It turned out a few scholars, good in their peculiar narrow way, but not in the least fitted to take their place in the competition of official or general life; and who were in consequence, as a class, bigoted, self-sufficient, disappointed, and soured, if not disloyal.[61]

Another effort was made to reform the college, and for a year or two with some success.[62] But things soon relapsed into their former state and in 1869 the Bengal Government had to issue a Commission, still sitting, to inquire into the causes of its inefficiency. The truth is, that the Muhammadan College fitted its students neither for the University nor for active life. 'The whole system', says the most distinguished Musalman Reformer of the day,[63] 'can land them only in half-and-half results. As students entirely of Arabic, they lose the benefit of the little English training they were acquainted with; for the College has no means for continuing English instruction, and it does not take much time to obliterate from their minds whatever little English they may have learned'.

I propose briefly to explain how so sad a result has been obtained from so well meant an effort. In the first place, the supervision has been all along deficient. Even during the brief period that an English Principal has existed, his appointment and his authority have been little more than nominal. He has had charge of other and more important offices; and to these the Principalship of the one great Muhammadan College that we have in Bengal has been tackled on as a sort of honorary appointment, with a merely nominal addition to his other salary. For example, the present Principal's chief appointment is Secretary to the Board of Examiners; and through his hands the whole of the Military officers at the Precidency have to pass, in order to qualify themselves for appointments, with all the Civilians who read for honours in the native languages. He is also officiating as Assistant-Secretary and Translator to

the Government of India in the Home Department, besides any occasional work which may be thrown upon him such as Committees and miscellaneous references from Government. In addition to all this, he is supposed to be Principal of the Muhammadan College; and however enthusiastically the present incumbent may have entered on this fragment of his multifarious duties, it is hopeless to look for any permanent efficiency from such a system.

The internal arrangements are still worse. An able and energetic soholar presides over the lower Department, but his control ends just where such supervision is most needed, viz. in the higher Arabic Branch. This Department, on which the whole success of the Institution depends, is left in the hands of the native Maulavis. Nominally, indeed, one of the latter gentlemen enjoys precedence over the other Masters, with the title of Head Maulavi. But no distinct chain of subordination exists; the under Masters were not responsible to him, and he was never seen out of his own class.[54] There were no monthly nor quarterly examinations; no daily, nor even weekly, inspections of the classes. It is clear that no good could come out of such a system. The Principal could not really superintend, because he had other work. The Head Maulavi never attempted to supervise, and we know the practical results.

It is impossible to exaggerate the evil which this neglect has done to the Muhammadan youth of Bengal. We must remember that since we misappropriated the Hugli Endowment a generation ago, the Calcutta College is the one Institution where they can hope to obtain a high class education. A body of young Musalmans, about a hundred in number, are gathered together in the heart of a licentious Oriental capital; kept under bad influences for seven years, with no check upon their conduct, and no examples of honourable efficiency within their sphere; and finally sent back to their native villages without being qualified for any career in life. About eighty per cent of them come from the fanatical Eastern Districts;[55] the difficulty of getting any lucrative employment, without a knowledge of

English, having driven away the youth of the more loyal parts of Bengal from the College. The students have passed their boyhood in an atmosphere of disaffection. Many of them are poor, and when they come to Calcutta, lodge in the houses and live on the charity of English gentlemen's butlers.[56] These are the moneyed men among the Muhammadan community, and they deride their masters behind their backs with all the suppressed insolence of menials belonging to a subject race. The students are all above sixteen, some above twenty, and some, I am informed, over thirty years of age. The butlers with whom they live not only acquire the religious merit of supporting them, but often marry their daughters, with a handsome dowry, to their guests. The latter come from the petty landholding class, who care nothing for English or for science, little for Persian, and a great deal for the technicalities of Arabic grammar and law. At home they were engaged in ploughing their little fields or plying their boats; and they speak the rude peasant dialect of the Deltaic Districts—a *patois* unintelligible to the Calcutta Musalman.

This is the new-caught student. In a few years he loses his barbarous jargon, gets his beard clipped, and sets up as a young professor of the Musalman Law. A generous Government allows twenty-eight scholarships among the hundred students, so that sooner or later any youth of the smallest application is sure to get one. Meanwhile the more enterprising and less studious among them set up a little trade. The advanced student has a consequential swagger all his own. He struts about Calcutta with his books under his arm, and, throwing aside the character of a poor pensioner, demands the respect due to men of learning from the butler on whom he lives. Thanks to our short-sighted abolition of the Kazis, the domestic Code of Islam has fallen into the hands of unlicensed practitioners. The College Students read the marriage formula in lower sort of Muhammadan families, settle matters of inheritances, and sell shallow Decisions according to the Hidayah an the Jami-'ur-rumuz.

There never was a set of young men who stand more in need of good guidance than these poor students of the Muhammadan College. What amount of guidance they get, I have already set forth. Every year under our instruction makes them more confident in their own narrow system of learning, more vicious as to their morals, less fit for any active career in life, and more disloyal to our Government. They hate the sight of an Englishman. When the scandal had grown to public as to render imperative a resident English Professor in the College,[57] he had to be smuggled into it by night. During more than ninety years the Chapters on Holy War against the Infidel have been the favourite studies of the place; and up to 1868 or 1869, I forget the exact date, examination questions were regularly given in this Doctrine of Rebellion. A mosque of sedition flourishes almost within the shadow of the College,[58] and the students frequent the Rebel places of worship throughout all Calcutta. The present Head Master is the son of one of the leading Doctors whom the Mutiny of 1857 brought to the front, and who expiated his crimes by transportation for life to an island in the Indian Ocean. The library of the learned traitor, after being confiscated by Government, is now lodged in the Calcutta College. Within the last few months, the Resident English Professor had to turn out of the grounds a wandering Arab, who came to 'preach religion', or, in other words, the doctrines which have cost us three Frontier Wars, and spread a network of conspiracy over the Empire.

After a seven years' training of this sort, we dismiss the Muhammadan youth to the fanatical Eastern Districts whence they came. But unhappily an even sadder tale remains to be told. I do not speak of the last two years, during which the Special Commission has been sitting. But there is evidence on record to show that, within a quite recent period, the students brought their courtesans into the College.[59] About twenty-six of them have rooms; and the quarters thus granted by the Government were converted into dens of profligacy. Not content with harbouring what Carlyle calls the unmentionable women, they had sunk into those more horrible crimes

against nature which Christianity has extirpated from Europe but which lurk in every great city of India. Within the last five or six years three cases were discovered, how many occurred can never be known.

Even the few among them who, if left to themselves, would try to do well, had no means for obtaining any sound or practically useful knowledge. In the first place, the time daily devoted to teaching was too short. The fixed hours are from ten to two, from which about twenty minutes must be subtracted in order to allow masters and students to smoke a hooka, known in the College slang as Moses' Rod; and about half an hour for calling the roll,—a ceremony which had to be performed twice a day, as many of the students disappeared finally at twelve o'clock. Some of the more diligent supplement the meagre College curriculum by reading 'religion' in private Musalman schools outside. Such external studies consist chiefly of the Muhammadan Traditions (*Hadis*) and law books of the fanatical mediaeval stamp—a sort of learning which fills the youthful brain with windy self-importance, and give rise to bitter schisms on the most trivial points within the College walls. Not long ago, as the English Resident Professor was going his evening rounds, he heard a tumult in the students' rooms. 'Your religion is all wrong,[60] and similar phrases, resounded through the corridors, and fierce were the denunciations on all sides. He hurried to the scene of the uproar, and found that one of the students had found in a law-book that during prayer the heels should be joined, else the petition has no effect in heaven or on earth. Those who had said their prayer with unclosed heels denounced the discoverer of the new code as a pernicious heretic; while he and a little band of followers consigned all who prayed in the old fashion to the eternal torments of hell.

Three hours' instruction in as much as they could possibly obtain from the College teachers in the day;—one who has practical acquaintance with it, tells me that the actual time of teaching seldom exceeded two and a half hours. Anything like preparation at home is unknown, and indeed is opposed

to Muhammadan ideas. Each master reads out an Arabic sentence, and explains the meanings of the first, second, and the third word, and so on till he comes to the end of it. The diligent student writes these meanings between the lines of his text-book, and by easy degrees learns the whole sentence and the interpretation thereof by heart. To teach him how to use the dictionary at home, or to reason out the meaning of a passage on his own account, is an altogether foreign invention, possibly dangerous to his religious faith, and at any rate unknown in the Calcutta College. At the end of seven years the students know certain books by heart, text and interpretation; but if they get a simple manuscript beyond their narrow curriculum, they are in a moment beyond their depth. Such a training, it may well be supposed, produces an intolerant contempt for anything which they have not learned. The very nothingness of their acquirements makes them more conceited. They know as an absolute truth that the Arabic grammar, law, rhetoric, and logic, comprise all that is worth knowing upon earth. They have learned that the most extensive kingdoms in the world are, first Arabia, then England, France, and Russia, and that the largest town, next to Mecca, Medina, and Cairo, is London. *Au reste*, the English are Infidels, and will find themselves in a very hot place in the next world. To this vast accumulation of wisdom what more could be added? When a late Principal tried to introduce profane science, even through the medium of their own Urdu, were they not amply justified in pelting him with brick-bats and rotten mangoes?

I have dwelt on these painful details, because I believe it most important, now that the Government has awakened to the necessity of really educating the Musalmans, that it should avoid a system which has brought failure upon its one great previous attempt. The Calcutta Muhammadan College has been practically left in the hands of the Muhammadans themselves, and it is under their management that it has proved such a scandal and disgrace. At first our tenderness, and afterwards our indifference, to the waning fortunes of the Musalman community, prevented the Government from interfering with an institution which it knew to be inefficient, but

which it did not see very clearly how to amend. A hundred years of native management has moulded the system to suit the prejudices rather than the wants of the Muhammadans. Our one great fault has been, that we have left the Muhammadan College too much to the Muhammadans themselves. As early as 1819 this was clearly perceived, but the Government of that day went on hoping against hope that a merely nominal control by a European Secretary would in time suffice. The same unwillingness to interfere has characterized and has baffled all the efforts of reform during the past twenty years. When a Principal was at length appointed, his office was an honorary and a nominal one; when a Resident Professor was finally introduced, his jurisdiction stopped short at the Department in which it was most needed.

A recent State Paper complained that only in Northern India do the Muhammadans contribute a fair share, either in numbers or money, to our Schools. The answer lies on the surface. In Bengal, both the more pious and the wealthier families, such as the Nakhudas of Calcutta, will have nothing to do with institutions which do not teach Persian or Arabic, and in which the religious faith of their children might be sapped by infidel Hindu masters. The middle-class of Musalmans is so thin as to have but slight effect one way or the other. The lower-class Muhammadans have never been reached by our system of Public Instruction, although I have known Missionary Schools such as those of the Rev. James Long full of them. The fanatical seething masses of the Musalman peasantry in Eastern Bengal remain beyond the pale of English education or English influence.

Yet I believe that an efficient system of education for all classes of the Musalman community might be organised at a very small charge to the State. Such a system would have to provide for lower-class, middle-class, and higher-class instruction. With regard to the first, a liberal construction of the existing Grant-in-Aid Rules would almost suffice. It is not more money that is needed, so much as a consideration of the special wants of the Musalmans. Government has wisely

declared that it will not assist two schools within five miles of each other, for such assistance would produce an unprofitable rivalry at the cost of the State. The astute Hindu, in this as in all other matters, has been first in the field. He has covered the country with schools admirably adapted to the wants of his own community, but wholly unsuited to the requirements of the Muhammadans. The five miles' rule, therefore, should be relaxed so as to allow a State grant to Musalman schools within that distance of existing Hindu ones. Where separate institutions are not needed, Government might make provision for the Musalmans, by appointing a Muhammadan teacher to the existing Hindu school. Such Musalman teachers could be had at five shillings a week.

With regard to the fanatical Eastern Districts, however, I think it would well repay Government to create a special machinery for reaching the Musalman peasantry. Such machinery was at one time found requisite for the Hindus. Lord Hardinge instituted a number of schools in order to extend education into districts where there was no self-supporting demand for it. Of such schools thirty-eight survived in the Educational Division of Bengal, that I had in my charge in 1866. They cost the Government over £1100 a year, besides the fees, which amounts only to £267, and were in no sense self-supporting But it is difficult to overrate the good which these schools have done. Wherever the peasantry were too ignorant, too poor, or too bigoted to set agoing a school under the Grant-in-Aid Rules, one of the Hardinge Institutions was temporarily established. At first the villagers got their education for almost nothing; but by degrees, as the presence of an educated class created a demand for further education, the fees were raised. In a few years the self-supporting element was thus introduced, a higher class of school was formed, and the cheap Hardinge School was transferred to some more backward part of the country. In this way education has been thrown out deeper and deeper into the jungles of South-Western Bengal.[61]

I think the same might now be done for the fanatical

Eastern Districts. The Grant-in-Aid Rules will not reach a population hereditarily disaffected to our Government, and averse to our system of instruction. But fifty cheap schools, with low-paid Musalman teachers, to which Government contributed the larger part of the expense, would in a single generation change the popular tone of Eastern Bengal. Such institutions would have a small success at first. But they would gradually attract not merely the Musalman peasant youth,[62] but also the Musalman teachers, who now earn a precarious livehood on their own account, and to whom an additional five shillings a week from Government would be an independent fortune. We should thus enlist on our side the very class which is at present most persistently bitter against us.

So much for the lower-class education of the Musalmans. With regard to their middle-class instruction a still smaller change would be required. The officer in charge of the Wahabi prosecutions has already urged that Muhammadan teachers (*Maulavis*) should be appointed to each of the District Government Schools, and this would office. Such teachers should instruct in the usual branches to education through the Urdu vernacular, and give a thorough knowledge of that language, besides an acquaintance with Persian, and perhaps a little Arabic. The prevailing tone of a District Government school might be safely left to itself to produce a desire of learning English among the Musalman boys who frequented it.

These charges would cost little, but a complete and an efficient system of higher class Muhammadan education would cost the State not one penny. The sum set apart by Warren Hastings for the Calcutta Musalman College, and the ample endowments of the Hugli institution, would, if properly applied, amply suffice. The funds which we at present misappropriate to maintain an English College should henceforth be honestly devoted to the purpose for which the testator left them. Whether one really good College would not be better then two, and whether it should be fixed in Calcutta, or at Hugli, which is only twenty miles off by railway, are matters

of detail on which I need not enter here. The actual instruction might for the most part be conducted by Muhammadan teachers as at present; but each College should have a Resident European Principal acquainted with Arabic, and capable both of supervising his subordinates and of enforcing their respect. The emoluments of the position, say, from £ 1200 £ 1500 a year, would command a very high order of scholarship from the English or German Universities.

Such higher-class education would consist not of two distinct branches, as in the Calcutta College, in the Upper of which the student forges whatever he has learned in the Lower, but of a well-planned unbroken curriculum. The present Upper or Arabic Department would be turned into an Anglo-Arabic one, and form a well-amalgamated extension of the Lower or Anglo-Persian branch. A Musalman boy would thus pass by easy transitions from District Government School, through the two College Departments, to the highest branches of learning. It is more than doubtful whether the Muhammadan law should be taught as a regular study, incumbent on all. It certainly should not be made the chief object of instruction. For the Muhammadan Law means the Muhammadan religion—that religion, too, at a time when its followers looked upon the whole earth as their lawful prey and before they had learned the duties of modern Musalman States in alliance with, or in subjection to, a Christian Government. It would not be wise to do away altogether with the teaching or the Law, for its total abolition would imperil the popularity of the College with the present generation of Musalmans. Yet it should be remembered that our original reason for encouraging Muhammadan Law, to wit, the production of qualified Musalman Law Officers, has ceased to exist. The study no longer answers any requirement of the Government, nor does it offer to its students any career in life. An adequate knowledge of it could be given in separate lectures, somewhat as the Hindu Law is taught at the Calcutta University. For the present daily drill in the Code of Islam, might be substituted to Arabic or Persian literature, and the study of

Western science through the medium of Urdu.

In this way we should develop a rising generation of Muhammadans, no longer learned in their own narrow learning, nor imbued solely with the bitter doctrines of their medieval Law but tinctured with the sober and genial knowledge of the West. At the same time they would have a sufficient acquaintance with their religious code to command the respect of their own community, while an English training would secure them an entry into the lucratic walks of life.

For the lower and middle class education of the Musalmans, a special Deputy Inspector of Schools belonging to their own faith would be required. Such an officer might be obtained for £200 a year. One of his first duties should be to find out and report on the Musalman schools and colleges[63] under native management. An excellent private institution of this sort, with an attendance of 110 boys, exists in Calcutta, but can get no Grant-in-Aid. Another founded by Warren Hastings, survives not far off in a village to the west of Howrah, but does nothing. A third lingers near Maimari, on the East India Railway; a fourth at Sasseram. Similar establishments drag on an obscure existence wholly unknown to our Educational Inspectors. In some of them, I believe, a fair degree of efficiency is maintained, and it would be well to find out if anything is to be learned from the system they pursue. I do not think that they would submit to regular supervision by English officers, but many of them would agree to the visits of a Depury Inspector of their own faith, as the easy condition of a Grant-in-Aid. We should thus enlist the most seditious institutions in Bengal on the side, if not of loyalty, at least of peace and order. For the present puerile follies which the Musalmans read in their schools, a series of well-chosen and well-edited Text-Books should be issued. The Colleges might be safely left to the care of their English Principals; and for these ample funds exist, if properly applied, without costing an extra shilling to the State.

We should thus at length have the Muhammadan youth

educated upon our own plan. Without interfering in any way with their religion, and in the very process of enabling them to learn their religious duties, we should render that religion perhaps less sincere, but certainly less, fanatical. The rising generation of Muhammadans would tread the steps which have conducted the Hindus, not long ago the most bigoted nation on earth, into their present state of easy tolerance. Such a tolerance implies a less earnest belief than their fathers had; but it has freed them, as it would liberate the Musalmans, from the cruelties which they inflicted, the crimes which they perpetrated, and the miseries which they endured, in the name of a mistaken religion. I do not permit myself here to touch upon the means by which, through a state of indifference, the Hindus and Musalmans alike may yet reach a higher level of belief. But I firmly believe that day will come, and that our system of education, which has hitherto produced only negative virtues, is the first stage towards it. Hitherto the English in India have been but poor Iconoclasts after all.

Meanwhile it remains for Government, while sternly putting down disaffection among the Bengal Muhammadans, to deprive them of every excuse for it. It has to make amends to them, not only for the decay in which our conquest and changed administration have involved their community, but also for the want of sympathy which has rendered their ruin less bearable and more complete. Its dealings with the disloyal section of the Musalmans should be managed so as not only to commend themselves to public justice, but also to public opinion. The unskilful conduct of a well-merited condemnation[64] left for centuries a stain on the memory of the most virtuous Emperor of Rome. Hitherto we have shed no blood, except on the field of battle, and the result has been a crop of Wahabi apostates instead of an army of Wahabi martyrs. At the moment I write this page, the infamous Meat-Supplier of the British Troops,[65] who was condemned to death in 1864, is giving evidence at Patna against the brethren of his former faith. Had his original sentence been carried out, thousands of devotees would every year be making a pilgrimage to his tomb. A death in the cause of religion has in all ages sufficed

to illuminate a life of infamy. The fortunes of an even viler Meat-Supplier to the Army than our Delhi butcher, stand out in history to warn the Government against capital sentences, which its Musalman subjects would regard as religious executions. I should never forget how George of Cappadocia, after a life of obloquy as a parasite, as a defaulting bacon-contractor to the Roman Troops, and as a dissolute prelate, obtained an apotheosis by an unwilling death, and became Saint George of Merry England.

References

1. Mr. James O-Kenealy, C.S.
2. Mr. E.C. Bailey, C.S.I. Secretary to Government of India, in the Home Department to whose scholarly symp. thies, the Musalmans owe a debt of gratitude.
3. *Mansab* See a very interesting but all too brief pamphlet by Prof. Blochmann, "The Hindu Rajas under the Mughal Government" : Calcutta, 1871.
4. Under the reign of Shah Jahan. It should be remembered that these military titles were held by the officers of Civil Administration.
5. I speak of the districts south of Dacca, Bikrampur, the last great Brahmanical settlement in the Delta.
6. This I ascertain by a personal inquiry, in Faridpur district, Bakhargunj and the Sundarbans.
7. On the ground that they have lived among, and in some case acted as priests to, a low Chandal population.
8. Report on the district of Jessor by Mr. James Westland, C.S., by far the best account of an Indian Deltaic district that has yet appeared, Calcutta, 1871.
9. I describe the buildings and tanks as I saw them in 1864. Since then I hear that the latter has been cleaned, and the former fallen deeper into decay.
10. Ranis.
11. Spenser's "Ruins of Rome" by Bellay.
12. This is subject to the explanation given further on.
13. Whenever they did, great was the discontent among the Musalmans. In the two best known cases, that of Raja Todar Mall, the Financier, and Raja Man Singh, the General, formal deputations of remonstrance were sent to court. In the case of Man Singh, some of the Muhammadan Generals refused to serve

under him in the expedition against Rana Pratap. I have already given the statistics of the Hindus who rose to conspicuous office under the least bigoted of the Musalman monarchs.

14. A very few Muhammadan gentlemen hold commissions from the Governor-General, but, so far as I can learn, not one from the Queen. A native of India can only enter the Army as a private soldier, and the rare individual instances of men promoted from the ranks by a merely local commission form no exception to the rule. The single case of a Muhammadan obtaining even the honorary rank of Captain is Captain Hidayat Ali, who was brought forward by Colonel Rattray during the mutiny,—a Muhammadan gentlemen in every respect worthy to hold Her Majesty's commission, as I can by personal knowledge of himself and of his deeds attest.
15. Among the exponents of this view, I would particularly cite the most recent and the ablest—Captain Osborn of the Bengal Cavalry, in the columns of the Calcutta *Observer*.
16. Curious illustrations of this perennial conflict occur in Mr. Westland's recent report on Jessor, and may be found in the rural archives of almost every district of Bengal.
17. See the Firmans of 12th August, 1765, in Mr. Aitchison's Treaties, or in the Quarto Collection put forth by the East India Company in 1812, Nos. xvi to xx.
18. 'We took it under a kind of promise to carry on the Musalman Rule as it then existed', writes the officer in charge of the Wahabi Prosecution, 'and we did so'.
19. Mr. James O'Kinealy.
20. Mr Westland's District of Jessor, p 67. I refrain with difficulty from frequent reference to my Annals of Rural Bengal, and shall only add, that till arrangements are made for bringing the Bengal Records into intelligent contact with the European world, the Indian Government continues guilty of a great historical injustice to the British nation. But perhaps a Government which subverted a Power more extensive than that before which the majesty of Rome itself fell back, and which has built out of the shattered creeds and oppressed peoples of India a prosperous Empire, may be pardoned a noble indifference to the written memorials of its glory.
21. *Shikastah*, literally broken an abominable sort of shorthand with vowels left out.
22. Amlah.
23. These remarks apply to the whole Province of Bengal, but with special force to every district of it excepting those of Bhagalpore and Patna Divisions.
24. In the *Pioneer*, the leading journal of the North-West Provinces.

I have freely used these articles in this chapter.

25. This and the following grades receive their appointments from the Local Government.
26. But exclusive of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. Some of the Opium Officers are not gazetted.
27. These gentlemen rank among the I grade of Public Servants—their salary is 5,000 pounds a year.
28. On the Side of Original Jurisdiction.
29. Law-officer.
30. The Hindu doctors are also of 2 sorts : the *Kabiraj*, who practices on the native system of medicine, and is often a mere quack; and the trained medical man of our English colleges.
31. *Durbin*, of July 1869.
32. I have not at present the means of officially tracing and verifying this statement of the Persian journalist but it attracted some notice at the time, and was not, so far as I heard, contradicted.
33. Mr. E. W. Molony, C. S., to whom I am indebted for a copy.
34. Mr. E. C. Bayley, C. S. I.
35. I need hardly say that I totally disagree from this view, which is possibly still the view of some uninterested Christians. The Muhammdans simply paid the price of their bigoted ignorance touching the faith of the people over whom they had so long ruled.
36. Persian has become a quasi-sacred language with the Bengali Musalmans, as it was the vehicle through which the law and the scriptures of Islam reached them.
37. *Roman Empire*, Vol. II, p. 360, Quarto E. J. of 1786.
38. Mr. James Grant.
39. Vide *Friend of India* of 30th April 1846, whose calculations have been accepted by subsequent Revenue Authorities; e. d. Mr. J. H. Young C. S. in the Revenue Handbook, p. 69 Calcutta 1861.
40. The Resumption Proceedings were firecast at the beginn ng, and after languishing for some years, were officially terminated by the Government order of March 4, 1846.
41. The College building was, however, paid for out of this source.
42. Memorial of the Muhammadan Pleaders of the High Court to the Officiating Chief Justice and his companion Justices, para 3.
43. Bengal Code.—Reg. IV, 1793; Reg. XII, 1793; Reg. XXXIX 1793; Reg. VIII, 1795; Reg. IX, 1795; Reg. XLIX, 1793; Reg II, 1798; Reg. III, 1803; Reg. XI, 1803, Reg. XLVI, 1803, Reg. X 1806; Reg. VIII, 1809; Reg. XVIII, 1817; Reg. XI, 1826; Re III, 1827; Reg. III, 1829 Madras Code.—Reg. XI, 1802, Re III, 1808; Reg. VII, 1822; Reg. III, 1828. Bombay Code.—Re

II, 1827; and Reg. XXVI, 1827. Act XXVII of 1836; Act VII of 1843; and Act V of 1845.

44. By Act XI of 1864, subsequently repealed by the Schedule attached to Act VIII of 1868, which however, did not revive the old Regulations under which the appointments had formerly been made.
45. Original Suit No. 453 of 1869; Muhammad Abubakar v. Mir Ghulam Husain and Another.
46. The excessive growth of marriage litigation was to some extent due to the people learning more fully how to make use of the Indian Penal Code. But the fact of our having rendered breaches of the marriage tie a criminal offence made it the more important that the marriage law should be well defined. We took the very worst moment that could possibly have been chosen for the abolition of the Musalman marriage officers.
47. The class from whom the Kazis were recruited, and who looked to that office as their career in life.
48. Known in Bengal as the *Madraseh*.
49. By Mr. J. R. Colvin, the Civilian who then chiefly enjoyed the confidence of the Muhammadan community, as from his accomplishments in Persian and Arabic he deserved it, and who, on the death of Mr. Thompson, became Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. He died in the Agra Fort during the Mutiny.
50. At present, to the entrance standard of the Calcutta University.
51. Mr. E. C Balay, to whose notes I owe several of the ideas contained in this Chapter
52. Under the suggestion of the Colonel Nassau Less, the Honorary Principal of the College. It is only fair to Colonel Less (who is not now in India to speak for himself) to state that he again and again earnestly set forth the necessity for reform; and that some of the proposals which I shall make later on were urged by him many years ago.
53. Maulavi Abd-ul-Latif Khan Bahadur.
54. I do not know whether the fact of a Commission being actually sitting has changed matters in this and the other respects subsequently mentioned. But I guarantee the absolute accuracy of my statements as representing the general conduct of the College when the Commission was appointed.
55. Chittagong, Sandwip and Shahbazpur send the majority.
56. Khansamans, who maintain poor scholars as a religious act. Such board and lodging is called a *jagir*, the name by which the military fields of the Muhammadan Empire were styled.
57. At present Mr. Blachmann. Unhappily the Resident English professor has no jurisdiction over the Arabic or Upper

Department.

58. *Faraizi* mosque.

59. It is only just to add that the non-resident English principal, Colonel Lees, was in no way responsible for these occurrences, and when the courtesan discoveries were made, took, steps for undoing their repetition impossible.

60. Tumhara Imau t'hik ne.

61. In 1865-66 there were 283 schools, with an attendance of 16,043 pupils, in the South-Western Division.

62. The attendance' on the 38 'Hardinge and Model Schools' in the South-Western Division rose from 1431 in 1861-62, to 2034 in same period decreased from 12s. to 8s. 6d.

63. Madrashes.

64. That of the Viceroy of Africa, the Notary Gaundentius, and the tyrant Duke of Egypt, under Julian.

65. Muhammad Shah.

INDEX

N

O

P

Q

R

S

T

V

W